



[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]

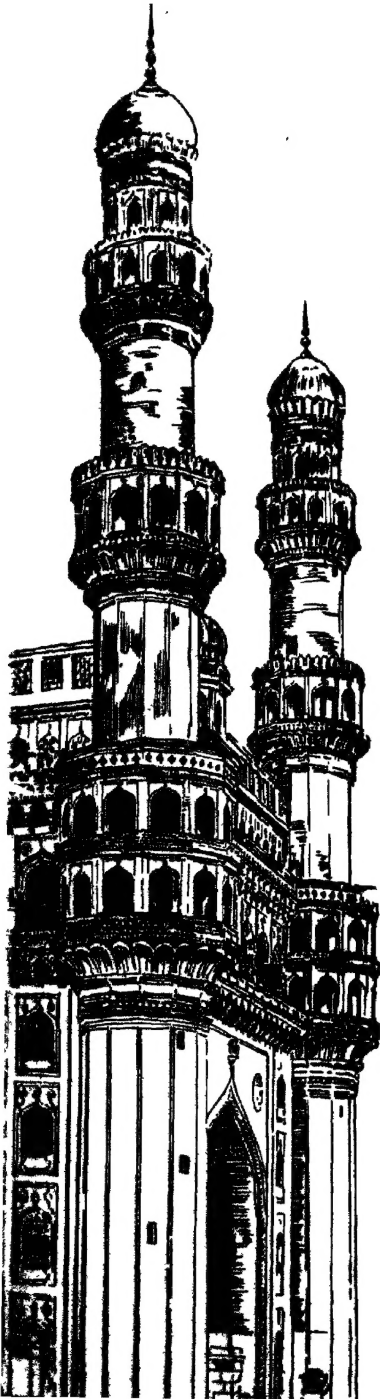
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EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS IN MUGHAL INDIA: AN APPRECIATION¹

THE beginnings of relations between India and the Western world are shrouded in the mists of antiquity and date back to the pre-Christian era. The striking resemblance between the Indus valley civilization and the civilizations of Babylon and Egypt and the discovery of certain articles of Indus valley origin in Egypt, Sumer, Akkad and Babylon point to a vigorous contact between them. The Boghaz Keui and Hittite inscriptions postulate a similar intercourse or migration. Alexander gave a further impetus to this intercourse by temporarily ensuring the safety of land routes. The discovery of the monsoons by a Greek sailor Hippalus worked a revolution in trade routes and quickened the tempo of intercourse. Indian pepper, spices, Chinese and Indian silks, Indian cotton fabrics and cosmetics were in great demand in the Roman world, and pepper was thus popularised by the Romans in Europe. It was pepper rather than gold which attracted Europeans to India and Constantinople and later Venice and Genoa in the Middle Ages became rich emporiums of oriental trade. The rise of the Turkish power in the Mediterranean cut off the then known sea- and land-routes to India. But our country continued to exercise fascination over the European mind. It was in search of a new sea-route to India that Columbus stumbled upon America. This was an additional reason for the shifting of the centre of gravity from the Mediterranean to Western European, and the European countries on the Atlantic seaboard sprang into importance. So it was not without reason that travellers who came to India were mostly Portuguese, English, Dutch and French.²

The Cape route to India was discovered in the year 1498. While the hope of serving God by spreading the "truth" among "infidels" made

1. I am indebted to my friend Mr. Raj Kumar Malhotra, M.A. (Hons.), for having permitted me to use his thesis. *Social & Religious Conditions in India as described for Foreign Visitors*.

2. The Jesuits were an international order; Father Rudolf was a Neapolitan; Monserrate, a Spaniard; Xavier and Pinheiro, Portuguese. From England came Fitch, Midnall, Hawkins, Roe, Funch, Terry, Coryat, Herbert, Ovington, Fryer and Marshall. France sent Pyrard de Laval, Tavernier, Bernier and Thevenot. Palsart was a Dutch factor. Manrique an Augustinian missionary; Manucci a Venetian.

many a missionary travel to India, it was the spirit of enquiry and enterprise brought in by the Renaissance and the growth of commercial capitalism in the 16th and 17th centuries that made European nations go a-hunting for oriental lands and markets. At the same time there developed among Western European peoples a great avidity for travel literature and for information about oriental lands. Thus the writings of these travellers did much to satisfy, while at the same time these writings form a record of their activities in India as missionaries, traders and travellers, and give us a first-hand account of conditions in this country.

Before we attempt an evaluation of the work of the European travellers and missionaries, we must bear in mind their limitations and the handicaps under which they laboured. The travellers were handicapped by ignorance of the language, laws, customs, and institutions of the country, by the very immensity of the land and the diversity of its population, by an alien, inchoate synthetic culture still in process of evolution as a result of the impact and fusion of Islam and Hinduism. Naturally a host of factors have to be taken into account in assessing their evidence; the areas of the country they visited and the time and duration of their visit; their linguistic equipment, their opportunities and personal experiences in contact with the court and the people; and above all their education, mental equipment or powers of observation and their prejudices—what may be called the personal equation.

Only the travels of Fitch, Tavernier, Bernier and Manucci covered practically the whole of India. The knowledge of Monserrate and Xavier Terry, Hawkins, Roe and Pelsaert was confined to Western India and the court at Agra. Some who wrote about India never visited the country and many remained confined to the ports. Linschooten, for instance, had first-hand information about Goa only; Valle spent his year and a half in Surat and on the Malabar coast; Laval was never inside India. From their knowledge of the fringes of the Mughal Empire, they drew hasty generalisations. The statement of Linschooten that "Delhi is very cold and had snow and ice like the Netherlands" reveals his profound ignorance of the climatic conditions of India. Du Jarric and Guerreiro, though accurate, merely wrote from the reports and letters sent by missionaries in India. Only De Laet, though he never visited India, is surprisingly reliable. He was primarily a compiler and his account is based on the reports about India which he received as Director of the Dutch East India Company, and partly on the works of earlier travellers like Pelsaert, Finch, Roe and Hawkins, etc.* Many had, of course, personal and first-hand information. Monserrate saw Akbar at close quarters for about two years; Xavier was at the court for about twenty-three years and his account is valuable inasmuch as the contemporary Persian authorities about Akbar close their accounts a few years before Akbar's death.

* Rawlinson has rightly described De Laet's *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* as "a monument of painstaking industry and storehouse of varied information."

Hawkins became a Mughal Mansabdar ; Roe stayed at Agra for two years and nine months ; Bernier first became physician to Dārā and later attached himself to Dānishmand Khān ; Manucci served under Dārā, Rājā Jai Singh, Rājā Kirat Singh and Shāh Ālam ; he carried on negotiations on behalf of the Portuguese with the Marathas and the Mughals ; finally he served under Governors, Gifford and Pitt, in Madras. Terry, Coryat and Bernier picked up Persian, while Pelsaert had some knowledge of the language spoken at Agra. Hawkins conversed with Jahangir in Turkish. Others had to rely on interpreters, which was liable to make their understanding partial. Few were men of good education and this fact explains why Fitch's account is sketchy though he traversed practically the whole of India and why he borrowed from Calsen Federici.¹ Only Roe, Coryat,² Terry,³ and Bernier were highly educated. Roe had been an M.B.P. and was "a man of solid judgement, penetration and sagacity ;"⁴ while Bernier was endowed with great "powers of accurate observation."⁵ In spite of these advantages, their passions, prejudices and proclivities prevented them from giving a faithful account of the India of their time. The fickle-mindedness of Jahāngīr, the intrigues of the Portuguese and the hostility of Muqarrab Khān and later of Prince Khurram rendered nugatory the efforts of Hawkins and Roe to conclude a commercial treaty with the Mughal. This disappointment vitiates much of their accounts. Despairing of success, Roe wrote to the Company in chagrin, "you can never expect to trade here upon capitulations that shall be permanent. We must serve time All the government depends upon the present will, where appetite only governs the lords of the Kingdome."⁶ His fulminations against the Mughal Government are understandable. Pelsaert, being a Puritan, condemned the gay life at the court. Bernier, enamoured of French institutions, when confronted with an alien system of government, dubbed it as despotic and oppressive—qualities which pale before the despotism of Louis XIV and the oppression by the French nobility in France. Many were inspired by an irrational prejudice against Indian institutions as is clear from Coryat's title "Crudities." The desire to make their narratives spicy led them to embroider their accounts with tales from their imagination and with vulgar gossip. The Italian Manucci despite his varied experiences and extensive travels was fond of "back-stair gossip" and loves to relate scandals about the court. His denunciation of Hindus and Islam and of

1. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 8

2. Coryat was a master of the classics and kept company with Ben Jonson in England.

3. Terry was a M.A.

4. *Dictionary of National Biography*.

5. *Travels of Bernier*, Introduction, p. XX.

6. Quoted by Foster, *England's quest of Eastern Trade*, p. 286. Roe again says unjustly "the government is so uncertain, without written law, without policy, the customs mingled with barbarism, religions infinite". Roe : Letter to Prince Charles, p. 269.

7. Manucci by Irvine, (Introduction).

the Indian character is unjust. Pitt hit the bull's eye when he described his work as the history of Tom Thumb.* Some of the travellers regarded Christianity as the only true religion and could not speak of the 'Gentiles' and 'Moors' without consigning them to eternal perdition. Such men could hardly be expected to take a fair view of the conditions in India. With the exception of Bernier none tried to understand Indian religions and philosophy. The Jesuits on the other hand were impressed by the necessity of proclaiming the superiority of their own faith and the success of their mission to their own people. This led them to write in a way about Akbar which misled Dr. Smith into declaring that Akbar renounced Islam and became a Christian. Islam being the religion of the politically dominant class, the Jesuits had to contend against it in their proselytizing efforts and therefore it receives much vituperative criticism from them. Hence their accounts are only valuable as revealing an atmosphere of religious toleration under Akbar and as a chronicle of a few political events.

But the other side of the story must not be overlooked. These travellers fill important lacuna left in the chronicles of the Persian writers. The Indian annalists wrote for their own countrymen. They naturally assume familiarity on the part of their readers with the customs, manners, and institutions of the age, and so omit to describe them. On the other hand, the European travellers had no previous knowledge of the country and writing as they did for their own countrymen, they have described everything that interested them as novel. Moreover the Persian writers attached to the Royal Court went into pæans of praise about the reigning monarch. Facts concerning their royal masters were liable to suppression, exaggeration, and distortion. Naturally we cannot expect them to give as objective an account of their times as we may expect from disinterested foreigners. So broadly speaking one can safely say that of all these travellers, the works of Roe and Bernier are of real help to us in reconstructing the past; the latter can justly be called a prince among travellers.

The information given by the travellers is quite varied and covers political and religious conditions and the social and economic life of the country.

The Emperor and his daily life, his court, court etiquette and the nobility naturally fill the pages of their accounts. But we get ample material from which to reconstruct the political and administrative institutions of the country. Of course they made no conscious attempt at describing them and their partial understanding landed them into incorrect descriptions. Sometimes they could not divest themselves of their pre-conceived notions. Accustomed to a feudal structure of society, they could not but think in terms of that organisation. Since all land in their own countries was held by the king, they regarded the Mughal Emperor as the proprietor of every acre of land. "No subject in his Empire" says Terry,

* Manucci by Irvine, (Introduction).

'had land of inheritance, nor can have other title but by the King's will.'¹ Obviously this is a misstatement. In India the cultivators or the tillers of the soil have always been the owners of land. Land revenue was merely a tax not a rent. Land, like any other movable property, could be bought, sold, mortgaged or inherited. Thus the cultivator was the *de facto* as well as *de jure* owner of the soil.

"the King " observed De Laet " is the sole master of the whole kingdom and gives estates at his will to his subjects or takes them away again."² It was this view of the ownership of land which led the European travellers to misunderstand the nature of the " Jagirs " or assignments. The Emperor, the travellers thought, parcelled out land among his nobles as fiefs or grants and as a natural corollary it followed that he could revoke them at will. This gave rise to the so-called doctrine of escheat which was extended to embrace even the movable effects of the nobles. But jagirs were simply a method of paying salaries. The State by granting jagirs was relieved of the onerous duty of collecting land revenue and disbursing salaries. The jagirdars or officers were frequently transferred and the jagirs changed hands. The system of revenue administration in the jagir lands was the same as in khalsa territories ; a remission or suspension of land revenue in khalsa lands had full effect in the jagirs as well. Thus the so-called escheat of the lands of the deceased Mansabdar involved no injustice to his sons and dependents, for they could have no claim to the salary of their father. The European travellers have further castigated the Mughal Emperor for " constituting himself sole heir of those who die in his service "³ that is even of the movable property of the noble. In this connection, it must be remembered that the nobles led rich and extravagant lives which left little surplus money on their hands.⁴ Sometimes they used to get advances from the State, especially when they were transferred from one charge to another or when they had to undertake an expedition with the result that they were generally in debt to the State. Thus, if a noble died, the State guarded itself against being defrauded of its legitimate claims by sealing the effects of the deceased noble. On the settlement of accounts, any surplus left was returned to the noble's heir.⁵ Neither the Muslim nor the Hindu law permitted such arbitrary confiscation as is suggested by the travellers. Far from showing callous indifference to the dependents of Omara the emperors made generous provision for the widows, sons and

1. Terry, p. 326. Bernier has also remarked "the land throughout the whole empire is considered the property of the sovereign. " p. 5.

2. De Laet, p. 94

3. Bernier, p. 163. He again remarks that the Emperor " constitutes himself heir of all the Omaras or lords, and likewise of the mansabdars or inferior lords, who are in his pay. " p. 204.

4. " There is no King in Europe that has so noble a court as the Governor of Gujrat, nor any that appears in public with greater magnificence." Mandelslo, p. 48.

5. Tavernier asserts that personal effects of women were not touched and the nobles left as many ornaments as they could for their wives—Vol. I, pp. 18.

dependents of the deceased. "The king," observes Bernier, "however usually bestows a small pension on the widow and often on the family."¹ Monserrate tells us that Akbar maintained and gave liberal education to many sons of dead nobles.² On retirement from service either from old age or incapacity, a noble was given a pension.³

Zāt and Sawār in the organization of the *Manṣabdārī* system have similarly been misunderstood by the travellers. "The king," Bernier tells us, "himself regulates as well the effective number that each *Omara* is to maintain, as the nominal number which he need not keep, but which is also paid for, and usually forms the principal part of his salary."⁴ This led Blochmann to the erroneous conclusion that Zāt meant the number of soldiers a *Manṣabdār* was expected to keep and Sawār meant the number he actually kept. No State would tolerate being consciously defrauded in the way implied above. Zāt was merely a personal rank—to determine an officer's position in the imperial hierarchy, while Sawār was a military rank and determined the strength of a *Manṣabdār's* command. Zāt was merely a yardstick to measure a person's worth in the imperial machine. But the travellers tell us one important thing: the nobility was not hereditary. There was no nobility of blood or caste. It was a body "admitting news elements every sunrise and disjoining old limbs every sunset."⁵ "It must not be imagined that the *Omaras* or *Lords* of the Mogol's court are members of ancient families, as our nobility in France. The King being proprietor of all the lands in the empire, there can exist neither *Dukedoms* nor *Marquisates*, nor can any family be found possessed of wealth arising from a domain and living upon its own patrimony. The courtiers are often not even descendants of *Omaras*."⁶ As a result, foreigners and Indians, irrespective of caste, creed and nationality, manned the Imperial service.

It is with regard to the religious policy of the Mughal Emperors that we find the travellers' accounts extremely valuable. Coming from lands weltering in conflict they were surprised to find that "here every man has liberty to profess his own religion freely"⁷ and that "the Grand Mughal makes no difference in his dominions between the one sort and the other."⁸ "Akbar declared," notes Monserrate, "that it was his desire

1. Bernier, p. 212.

2. Monserrate, p. 207.

3. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 388-89.

4. Bernier, p. 212-13. He again says on the same page: A *mansabdar* was not to bring the number of men implied in his *mansab*. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 375-76.

5. Hawkins, p. 83.

6. Bernier, p. 211. Ovington also says the same thing ".... all the lands of the Indostan belong entirely to the Mogol, the *Omaras* there cannot derive their titles from their *Earldoms*, *Lordships* or *Mansion houses* (as with us) because they are none of their property, only *Tenants of will*, during the Mughal's pleasure." p. 110.

7. Terry, p. 315.

8. Valle, Vol. I, p. 30.

that Christians should live freely in his empire and build their churches. No one could think this an innovation since he allowed the idolaters to live and build their temples in the empire."¹ Christians were allowed complete religious freedom, then unknown in their native lands, and sometimes the State gave them monetary help. A Christian church was built at Agra and another at Lahore, while permission to build churches at Cambay and Thatta was also granted.² Akbar granted the Jesuit Father annual allowances for their maintenance.³ In 1607 the Commemoration of the "Lord's Passion" included a public procession headed by a crucifix and the small band of Christians "moved as serenely and devoutly as though they were commemorating the triumph of Christ in the land of the most Catholic of Kings."⁴ In 1610 the Christmas festival was celebrated in Lahore with such pomp and show "as could not have been done more openly in a Christian country."⁵

Jahāngīr continued his father's policy except that he favoured converts to Islam. He allowed Christian missionaries to preach and convert freely in his empire.⁶ For distribution of alms to the Christians, he sanctioned Rs. 50 per month and allotted another sum of Rs. 30 per month for the repair and decoration of churches.⁷ About twenty persons were baptised at Agra alone. Out of respect for Hindu sentiments the sale of beef was forbidden.⁸ Jahāngīr prohibited the slaughter of animals on certain days of the week and the Jesuits could not get meat on Sundays.⁹ Only in India could Coryat with impunity contradict a Mulla in Multan, call the Prophet an impostor, and denounce Islam openly.¹⁰ Recruitment to public services was irrespective of a man's persuasion. Delle Valle was impressed by the fact that Akbar made no distinction between the "Gentiles," and the Muhammadans as regards the army and public services.¹¹ Hawkins, on the other hand, noticed that Jahāngīr reduced the number of Hindu captains and gave preference to Muslims.¹²

During the reign of Shāh Jahān there seems to have been an oscillation from this religious policy during the earlier part of his reign.

1. Monserrate, p. 47.

2. Du Jarric, p. 75.

3. Du Jarric, p. on 24; Bernier, pp. 286-87. Thevenot, p. 33. Monserrate goes on to say that Akbar entrusted to him the task of educating his second son, Murad, and the sons of some nobles, p. 52; Du Jarric, p. 24.

4. Guerreiro, pp. 31-32.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

6. Terry, p. 33.

7. Guerreiro, p. 35.

8. Monserrate, p. 184.

9. MacLagan: "The Jesuit Mission to the Emperor Akbar," J.A.S.B., Part I, Vol. LXV, 1896, p. 57.

10. Coryat, p. 271. "If I had spoken this much in Turkey or Persia against Mahomet, they would have roasted me upon a spitt, but in the Mougols dominions a Christian may speak much more freely than he can in any other Mohometan country in the world."

11. Valle, Vol. I, p. 30.

12. Hawkins, pp. 106-107.

According to Peter Mundy, Shāh Jahān "had commanded that all Hindu churches made in his time should be demolished."¹ Displeased with the Jesuits, he ordered the destruction of Christian churches at Lahore and Agra.² When Hugli was taken, the captured Portuguese and their families were forcibly converted.³ The pilgrimage tax was reimposed on the Hindus.⁴

But towards the latter part of his reign Shāh Jahān's religious zeal seems to have subsided. Manrique procured permission to reconstruct the Christian churches in Sindh, which Shāh Jahān had ordered to be demolished a few years earlier.⁵ Injunctions against the slaying of animals were strictly enforced.⁶ Shāh Jahān, records Bernier, paid a pension of two thousand rupees to a Brahmin at Benares.⁷

It was during the reign of Aurangzēb that this policy of religious freedom was reversed. According to Manucci, Aurangzēb sometime after 1667 ordered every provincial governor to destroy all temples situated within his jurisdiction.⁸ Pilgrimage tax,⁹ discriminatory customs tax¹⁰ as between Hindus and Muslims, poll tax,¹¹ prohibition of religious festivals¹² followed. Aurangzēb abandoned the policy of recruitment to services irrespective of religious convictions. He issued a general order commanding that all the higher Hindu public servants at Court should be replaced by Muslims.¹³ Ovington found at Surat that the Muslims got the highest military and civil appointments only because of their religion.¹⁴ He goes on to say that "the Mughal delights much in proselytizing all the Rājās he conquers, and bringing them to the Muhammadan faith, which has much exasperated these grandees and the gentile sect of this kingdom."¹⁵ Tavernier notes that the Shi'as were not allowed to celebrate the Muḥarram festival.¹⁶

1. Mundy, Vol II, p 178.

2. Bernier, pp 177, 287.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.

4. Manrique, Vol. II, p 147. In December, 1640 he reached Allahabad and got himself registered at the Customs House. He records: "Seeing that I was not a Gangetic pilgrim, they only took half a rupee from me From the rest they took much more. ..."

5. Manrique, Vol. II, p. 211. His silence about the temples at Agra & Lahore ordered to be demolished earlier is, however, surprising.

6. Manrique records that with the greatest difficulty he could get punishment abated from amputation of limbs to flogging for killing peacocks in the case of a Muslim offender, Vol. II, pp. 105-15.

7. Bernier, p 341.

8. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 154.

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 82, 417, Bernier, 303

10. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 61.

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 233 Fryer, Vol. I, p. 275.

12. Manucci, Vol. p 154.

13. *Ibid.*, 154.

14. Ovington, p. 140.

15. *Ibid.*, p 119.

16. Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 177.

In perusing these records one is struck by the complete absence of any mention of or reference to religious strife or communal riots except that of bitterness between the Shi'as and the Sunnis.¹

In regard to political events, we find that the excursions of these travellers in the realm of history are disappointing. Thus Monserrate, Finch, Roe, Mundy and Manucci have recorded fanciful stories and legends about Akbar and Bābur. But with regard to contemporary happenings their accounts are quite useful ; thus for instance Monserrate's account of Akbar's invasion of Kabul and the account of the war of succession by Bernier and Manucci.

The opinion which the European travellers formed of the social conditions prevailing in India is not a happy one. On the one hand, we have a nobility with the Emperor at its head, rolling in fabulous wealth, literally swimming in plenty, revelling in wine and music, and living a life of unbounded luxury and extravagance. They conjure up before us magnificent palaces, adorned with gold, jewels and other rarities, rich gaudy dresses, colourful pageants, exhilarating animal fights, nobles pampering themselves with the delicacies of the East, and teeming harems—a picture which reminds one of the Arabian Night. It is, in short, a picture of "lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superfluous pomp, inflated pride, and ornamental daintiness....."²

On the other hand, in marked contrast to this, we have the life, painted in sombre colours, of the great mass of the people. In the grim clutches of grinding poverty, unable to afford a piece of linen to cover their nudity, perpetually on the verge of starvation, and driven from the soil by the exorbitant demands of an extravagant exchequer and a tyrannical and oppressive government—such, according to Bernier, was the condition of the people of India.³ The travellers found Indians living in mean dwellings and with mean clothing. A scandalous contrast to the life of the upper classes ! But the travellers probably failed to make allowance for the climatic conditions of the country which rendered elaborate houses and clothing unnecessary. Considering the flourishing condition of numerous industries which meant a comparatively low burden on land one cannot believe that the people could be poorer than they are today.

In between the rich and the poor was the middle class whose existence Bernier denies.⁴ But the commercial community and the professional classes must have formed a large middle class, to which fresh blood was continually recruited from the sons of deceased Omaras or those nobles who fell from the Emperor's favour. The existence of a middle class was

1. Bernier, 314; Pelsaert, p. 78.

2. Pelsaert, p. 64.

3. Their life was "the home of stark want and the dwelling-place of bitter woe." Pelsaert, p. 60. "The condition of the people of India," says de Laet, "is very miserable." p. 88. But the cost of living was so cheap that Coryat could live on 2d a day in his travels in the East Foster, 236.

4. Bernier remarks, "In Delhi there is no middle state. A man must be of the highest rank or live miserably."

inevitable in a country where there was no hereditary nobility. The commercial community was rich and affluent, but led a frugal and abstemious life, pushing frugality to the extremes of miserliness—a quality which has shown persistence among the present-day Bania classes.

The life of the women, too, was not very happy. The death of the husband was the greatest tragedy—as it is even today—in the life of a Hindu woman. Widow remarriage being out of the question, she had either to immolate herself or to lead a life of abysmal anguish, unending suffering and woe. Self-immolation was considered an act of chastity.¹ Failure to perform it involved social stigma.² The Mughals tried to put an end to this barbarous custom. Akbar prohibited the forcible burning of widows, making it obligatory on the intending immolators to procure written permission from the local governor.³ The governors were generally Muslims and would not easily grant permission for an act which in their eyes was a sin.⁴ But the State policy bore little fruit at first. Hawkins, who was in India from 1608 to 1613, noted that even the personal intervention of Jahāngīr did not succeed in a single case in preventing the widows from Agra from committing this sacrifice.⁵ Withington who travelled between the years 1612-1616 records that some of them did live, though not many.⁶ Pelsaert however (1620-27) definitely asserts that “there are hundreds and even thousands who do not do it and there is no such reproach as is asserted by many.”⁷ Aurangzēb totally prohibited sati.⁸ In 1689 Ovington noted, “Now it is very rare except it be some Raja’s wives that the Indian women burn at all.....”⁹

Child-marriage was another social evil among the Hindus. Girls rarely exceeded the age of eight, while the boys were married at the age of fifteen or sixteen.¹⁰

To these travellers India was primarily a land of Sadhus and Fakirs¹¹ and of a people steeped in superstitions, given to fasts, penances, and pilgrimages, to a servile adoration of Yogis and Pirs—people who had a passion for making saints. Akbar and Khusrāu were thus canonised, being elevated by the people to the status of saints. The Hindus in particular were organised in four rigid castes with little or no intercourse between them. They were also idolatrous and had countless numbers of gods and

1. Thevenot, p. 84.

2. Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 211.

3. Terry, p. 323; Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 210.

4. Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 210.

5. Hawkins, p. 119.

6. Withington, o. 220

7. Pelsaert, p. 80

8. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 97.

9. Ovington, p. 344.

10. Fitch 16, 19; Withington, 221; Thevenot, 51, 83.

11. Tavernier estimated Hindu Fakirs at 120,000, Muslim Fakirs at 80,000, p. 347.

goddesses, the chief being Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, etc.¹ Belief in transmigration and Ahimsa—which enjoined upon them to eschew meat diet and avoid injury to all life—was a feature common to all Hindus, save a small section. Thus to Ovington : " India of all religions of the earth is the only public theatre of justice and tenderness to birds and living creatures."² The cow and the Ganges had special sanctity. The travellers also give detailed accounts of the immoral practices of certain Brahmans and Yogis. The Dassi system was prevalent. Jagannath was notorious for this.³

The Hindu caste system was affecting the Muslims as well. Inter-marriages among the Muslim occupational castes were as impossible as among the sub-castes of the Hindus.⁴ The pig was held in abomination. The water of the Ganges was sold not only among the Hindus but also among the Muslims.⁵ The Muslims were divided into three main groups—the Sunnis, the Shi'as and the Sufis.

The only other religious community noted by the travellers is the Parsis, who were fire-worshippers.

Besides describing the socio-religious ceremonies connected with births, marriages and deaths, and the broad religious practices and beliefs of the masses, the European travellers betray an utter ignorance of Indian religions as such. They had no knowledge of Indian philosophy and the fundamentals of its various faiths. An important religious movement like the Bhakti cult popular among the masses is completely ignored by them. In fact it is in the sphere of religion that they have blundered ; it is here that they could not divest themselves of their preconceived notions and prejudices. The natural result was the fantastic and ridiculous statements they have made. Of Muharram, one of the most important festivals observed by the Muslims, says Van Twist, " The Muslims celebrate some other annual festivals, for instance, the festival of Janse and Jawnzee (Hasan and Hussain), in commemoration of two brothers so named, servants of Muhammad and Ali, who having travelled to the Coromandel Coast to make pilgrimage and earn absolution, were surrounded by a multitude of heathens, gentiles and Brahmans, and besieged in a

1. Manucci failed to appreciate Hindu pantheism when he says of them : " There is not an individual among them who denies that there is a God ; still, they have so many different views on what they say of God that they are incompetent to find the truth. Some say that water is God, and they style this ' infallible science ;' others, that God is a spiritual substance widely diffused. Then shortly afterwards, with hardly any discussion they will tell you that it is the air which is God, and there is none other. But as they have no fixity in their belief, they will next tell you briefly after setting forth the above statements as infallible that the sun is God ; that it has created and still creates, that it preserves and destroys all things in this world." Vol. III., p. 3.

2. Ovington, 175.

3. Bernier, 305.

4. Terry, 316 ; Bernier, 259.

5. Baldaeus, p. 593.

fortress where they took refuge, their water being contaminated by a lizard, which Muslims consider an exceedingly unclean animal....."¹ Terry observed that the Muslims usually shaved off their head "reserving only a lock on the crown for Muhammad to pull them into Heaven."² The same lock of hair on the heads of Brahman boys drew from Lord the comment that with its help they would be pulled back into the studies if they ever went astray.³ Monserrate, speaking of the Parsis, noticed that their dead bodies were dragged along the road⁴—a statement which is apparently unbelievable. Hog's flesh, according to a traveller, was consumed by Brahmans on a particular day!⁵ To proclaim the glory of his own faith, Finch asserts with the utmost gravity that Jahāngīr affirmed before all his nobles that Christianity was the solemnest faith while that of Mahomet was lies and fables.⁶ Monserrate also tells us that a Christian King ruled over Delhi before the Mughals.⁷

On turning to economic conditions, we find the records of the European travellers very illuminating. They give us ample and reliable information about agricultural crops, minerals, industries, trade and commerce. Besides cultivating the traditional food crops like rice, wheat, barley, millet, Indians also grew commercial crops which have only been recently revived in our own time—cotton, indigo and sugar-cane. Among industries, cotton textiles held pride of place, providing employment on an extensive scale in which Indians reached a high degree of craftsmanship. 7000 looms were to be found at Benares.⁸ Tavernier speaks in glowing terms of the quality of Indian muslins. He tells of a turban of sixty yards being contained in a cocoanut of the size of an ostrich's egg and of so fine a material "that you would scarcely know what it was that you had in your hands."⁹ He also took to France an ounce of thread "which almost escaped the view,"¹⁰ for presentation to the Dowager Queen. Such gossamer fabrics were so transparent that the body inside was visible.¹¹ Silks were also produced. Dyeing, as an ancillary industry, was also highly developed. Terry remarks that cotton cloth was dyed or printed with a "variety of well-shaped and well-coloured flowers or figures, which are so fixed on the cloth that no water can wash them out."¹² Such a high degree of development was rendered possible by the

1. Von Twist (see *Journal of Indian History*, 1937, p. 70); Baldeau (p. 518) repeats the same story. Pelsaert and Mundy relate it with minor differences

2. Terry, 308.

3. Lord, 321

4. Monserrate, 7.

5. Thevenot, 81

6. Finch, 147

7. Monserrate, p. 34.

8. Manrique, Vol. II, p. 147.

9. Tavernier, II p. 7.

10. *Ibid.*, II, 7-8.

11. *Ibid.*, I, 56-57.

12. Terry, pp. 108-109

patronage which the Emperor and the nobles extended to industries and the practice of presenting gifts to the Emperor. But incidentally it also shows that production was tuned to the needs of the classes rather than of the masses—to the production of luxury goods—and this fact inhibited the growth of those industries beyond a particular point, as in the West till the 15th century. Bernier notes that the lot of the artisans and craftsmen was not happy; they were subjected to harsh treatment at the hands of officers who forced them to sell goods at low prices.¹ Workmen, observes Pelsaert, were treated as slaves, though nominally free.²

Besides metallurgy, to meet the every day needs of towns and villages, diamond-cutting,³ in which the Indians attained a high degree of skill, and the saltpetre industry, ceramics reached the high watermark of artistic development. Patna was the centre, and manufactured pottery which Manucci described as "finer than glass, lighter than paper and highly scented."⁴ Woodwork, ivory-work and gold-work were also cultivated.

As for the location of these industries, the travellers found cotton textiles at Benares, Patna, Jagannath and Bengal; silks in Bengal, Assam and Patna; the last-named town being also the centre of pottery-making.

Our foreign trade, unlike the present, consisted of manufactured goods, cottons, silks, indigo, pottery, sugar, saltpetre and pepper and spices. In fact it was in search of cloth and condiments that many of the travellers came to India. Imports were negligible as India was self-sufficient. She was paid in terms of gold and other precious metals. It is not unnatural in that age of mercantilism that we find Roe complaining, "Europe bleedeth to enrich Asia."⁵ The Empire of the Mughal, says Bernier, is an abyss for gold and silver.⁶

Trade was largely, as it is today, in the hands of the Hindus—Banias in Western India and Khatris in Northern India. Muslims preferred a military career to trade.⁷ Internal trade was monopolised by Indians who also took a hand in the foreign trade. They also ventured abroad. The Banias of Gujrat and Indian sailors were to be found carrying on trade in Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and the Phillipines in the East, and Persia, Arabia, and Ethiopia and East Africa in the West.⁸

Of the means of communication, India had both roads and inland

1 Bernier, 254-256.

2 Pelsaert, 60-61

3 Tavernier, II, 56; In the art of concealing flaws Indians were "much more accomplished than we are."

4 Manucci, II, p. 84; Marshall speaks in a similar strain, p. 414.

5 Roe, 464.

6 Bernier, 223. "India is rich in silver," wrote Hawkins, "for all nations bring coyn (coin) and carry away commodities for the same, and thus coyn is buried in India and goeth not out." p. 112.

7. Muslims preferred seeking jobs as grenadiers and corporals in the army to making fortunes by trade. Mandelslo, p. 18.

8. Jourdan, 57, 69, 95, 103, 104, 251, 310, 311. Lancaster 74, 117.

navigation. But the roads were not safe, especially that from Gujrat to Delhi which had to pass through the desert. This amply explains the rapid decline in commercial intercourse when, after 1707, insecurity increased as a result of administrative chaos. But in land navigation was much more extensively used than it is today. Fitch travelled from Agra to Bengal in a fleet of 180 boats.¹ The Ganges was the grand commercial highway—the life-line of commerce—as it passed through the most thickly populated and fertile districts and the industrial region of India, and on its banks were situated the commercial towns like Benares, Patna, Cossimbazar and Raj Mahal. The Indian bottom-ships were no mere lighters or ketches but had a capacity of 300 to 400 tons each.²

Besides, Indians also participated in the coastal trade. The natural result was that India had a flourishing ship-building industry, coming down from Hindu times. Indian ships were superior to those of the Western nations, especially because India had plenty of teak wood which is eminently suited to withstand the effects of saline water. Pyrard tells us that all vessels built for the king of Spain for use in Eastern waters were built in India.³

It is sad to reflect that the Mughal Emperors were indifferent to sea-power and the European pirates played havoc with our shipping. They forced Indians to export Indian goods in European vessels.⁴ The English adventurers forced the Indian traders to exchange Indian merchandise for their unwanted goods at prices arbitrarily fixed by themselves.⁵ The Dutch swarmed over the East Indies, where Indian trade was strangled. The Danes were a menace to Indian trade on the Coromandel and Bengal coasts between the years 1642 and 1674, when they were forced to mend their ways.⁶

Piracy combined with the inimical policy of the East India Company later ruined our ship-building industry and overseas trade. Pelsaert candidly admits: "All merchants from whatever country they came complain most bitterly. Portuguese, Moslems and Hindus all concur in putting the blame for this state of things entirely on the English and on us (the Dutch), saying that we are the scourges of the sea and of their prosperity. . . . The leading merchants tell us they heartily wish we had never come to their country. They point to the number of ships

1. Fitch, 18.

2. Mundy, II, 87-88. He also noticed ships for the transport of the Emperor's household: "There were boats with a large number of rooms on their decks capable of carrying a prettie village with all their inhabitants and goods."

3. Pyrard de Laval, Part I, Vol 2, 182.

4. The Portuguese enforced what was euphemistically called the 'pass-port,' for which a fee had to be paid and which prevented trade in commodities in which the Portuguese were interested. Any ship infringing the rules of this 'permit' was a lawful prize. They confiscated the cargo and the crew was held to ransom.

5. Nicholas Danton in Lancaster's Voyages, pp. 200-207; H. Middleton in Purchas, III, 192-193.

6. Bowry, 182-190; Ovington, 415.

that used to sail from Surat alone..... every year four or five of the King's Great Ships..... (two for Achin, two for Hormuz, two for Bantam, Macasar and those parts), besides smaller ships owned by individual merchants, coming and going in large numbers. Now-a-days the total is very small....."*

The information furnished by these European travellers is varied and extensive. It covers government and administration, social customs and institutions, religious practices and beliefs, and trade, industry and the economic conditions of the people. Manucci, Bernier, Roe, Hawkins and Terry entered the Mughal service or otherwise attended the Mughal court and were intimately acquainted with it. Naturally they furnish us with detailed information about the Imperial court, courtly etiquette, ceremonial functions and festivals. True it is that today, when historical values have changed, when institutions and movements are more important than the petty, minute and tedious details of the life of a man however eminent, we naturally ask of what use are the minute details of the Emperor's life and his court. Yet even this mass of trifling details can yield surprisingly rich results if intelligently interpreted. For instance, we find that the practice of making presents to the Emperor at the time of audience—which seemed vexatious to the travellers—must have led to the development of luxury trades and have given employment to numerous people. The elaborate etiquette that was enforced in the court and the various duties which the nobles at the metropolis had to carry out in the service of the Emperor, were intended to bring home to the nobles the authority of the Emperor. The frequent transfer of governors was a constant reminder to officials as well as to the people that the governor was not their only officer; there were others above him. The extravagant imperial establishment and colourful pageants were not without meaning. Like Henry VIII in England, the Eastern monarchs had learnt earlier that trappings of magnificence or the so-called 'oriental' pageantry was not a mere satisfaction of regal vanity, for 'august majesty' inspired awe in the masses of the people. Even where the travellers have made incorrect statements, they can be of some help in reconstructing political history by a cautious handling of the material in juxtaposition with contemporary Indian evidence. But the same cannot be said of their observations on the religious beliefs of the people. Here they strike us as mere superficial observers who never tried to dive deep into the matter. And their attitude is quite understandable when we remember that they regarded their own religious convictions as gospel truth and men of a different persuasion as heretics and pagans.

The contemporary Indian authorities are pitifully deficient in information about the social and economic life of the people. We can certainly reconstruct the political life of those times from them; but for the social and economic life we must turn to the records of the European travellers

* Pelsaert, 39-40.

which contain a wealth of information for the lack of which our knowledge about Mughal India would be poor and partial indeed. To us Indians, even their descriptions of social practices and institutions appear commonplace since they are so well known, and are so strongly ingrained in the Indian social texture which has changed little through the course of centuries. But their observations about economic matters are illuminating and invaluable. Thus while political material needs to be handled with the utmost discrimination and merely supplements the contemporary Indian authorities who form our chief sources for political government, history and administration, in the economic and social sphere the travellers' accounts are of prime importance.

Y. KRISHAN.

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GULCHĪN

DR. M. ISHAQUE'S large anthology of modern Persian poetry¹ reveals the very considerable developments which have taken place in this branch of literature since E. G. Browne wrote his pioneering work *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* (Cambridge, 1914). A review just published by Dr. A. Bausani on Dinshah J. Irani's *Poets of the Pahlavi Regime* (Bombay, 1933),² and an article on the poet 'Ārif by Dr. A. Bombaci,³ are among recent reminders of the interest which this subject arouses in Europe. During the war it fell to my lot to found and edit a cultural magazine in the Persian language, *Rūzgār-i-Nau*, which after appearing in twenty-two issues is now defunct; this was the first Persian periodical ever to be published in Great Britain, and it achieved a tolerably wide circulation and popularity in Persia. My editorial duties brought me into contact with a number of young Persian poets of considerable promise; outstanding among them is the writer whose work forms the subject of the present paper.

Majd ad-Dīn Mīr-Fakhrā'ī, who writes under the pen-name Gulchīn-i-Gīlānī, was born at Resht on 1st January, 1910 (1289 A.H.). His father, Mahdī Mīr-Fakhrā'ī, who was Head of the Finance Department in Resht at that time, after holding a number of important offices under the Persian government is now Governor of Sabzevār. Gulchīn obtained his early education at the primary school in Resht and the secondary school in Teheran; he received the *Diplôme-ès-Lettres* from the *Dār al-Funūn*, and the *Licence-ès-Lettres*, *Philosophie et Sciences Pédagogiques* from the *Dānīshsarā'ay-i-'Ālī*, Teheran. After matriculating at the Chelsea Polytechnic and at University College, London, he passed the First and Second M.B., B.S. He commenced his clinical studies in Manchester Royal Infirmary, but the outbreak of war interrupted these, and Gulchīn was obliged to work for his support. He became an ambulance driver in the A.R.P. (Civil Defence) under the London County Council but was later deprived of this means of livelihood when the Aliens'

1. *Sukhanvarān-i-Irān Dar 'Arṣ-i-Hāzır* (Poets and Poetry of Modern Persia), 2 Vols., Calcutta, 1933, 1937.

2. 'Notizie su poeti persiani contemporanei' in *Oriente Moderno*, Vol. XXV (1946), pp. 28-41.

3. 'Il poeta nazionalista persiano 'Āref di Qazvin,' ib., pp. 42-53.

Restriction Act was passed, and for a time faced great hardship and hunger. Subsequently Gulchīn succeeded in earning enough by journalism and translation work to enable him to resume his clinical studies at University College Hospital. He qualified in medicine, surgery, and midwifery in 1944 (L.M.S.S.A.), and the following year obtained his M.R.C.S. and L.R.C.P., and entered general practice in London. In 1946 he gained the special diploma in tropical diseases and hygiene (D.T.M. & H.); and is now once more attending University College Hospital in order to acquire more knowledge and experience of recent advances in medicine.

Such in brief is the biography to date of a young poet who has already proved that he has something of importance to contribute to Persian literature. Before leaving Persia, Gulchīn had a number of poems published in magazines and newspapers: my first acquaintance with him was in 1940, when he brought me a poem entitled باران (Rain). I was so much struck by the freshness and originality of his style and language that I sent this poem to Teheran, where it was published in the literary magazine, *Sukhan*, which had just been founded. He later brought me other poems, and in 1944 I published two of these, برگ (Leaves) and خانه تاریک (The Dark House), in my quarterly *Rūzgār-i-Nau*. These poems were received with great interest and appreciation in Persia, where the younger critics hailed Gulchīn as a most promising writer. The former of these two poems was printed side by side with an English translation from my own pen; I quote below some stanzas to illustrate this phase of Gulchīn's development:

باد شکر می‌کشد فریاد
 که گل و برگ و سبزه ویران باد
 بافتن پرنده شب خیز
 زیر اشک ستارگان بلند
 برگ و گل روی سبزه می افتند
 زرد از مشت و سیلی پائیز
 روی چین های نازک هر برگ
 کشمکش های زندگی و مرگ
 سرگذشت خوشامد و بدرود
 خنده و اشک و ناله جان سوز
 داستان های دلکش دیروز
 یاد گار گذشته نابود

The night-bound wind in loud lament doth cry :
 " Let flower and leaf and grass in ruin lie !"
 And, as the night-arising bird makes moan,
 Beneath the weeping stars in heaven's height,
 Smitten by autumn's hand, in pallid flight
 Over the grasses leaf and flower are strewn.

There, o'er the delicate folds of every leaf
 Life fights with Death in battle fiercely brief,
 The ancient tale of Welcome and Farewell ;
 Laughter, and tears, and soul-consuming sighs,
 All yesterday's delightful memories,
 Remembrance of a vanished past to tell.

The rich, melodious melancholy of this threnody to autumn recalls strongly the mood of Shelley's *Ode to the West Wind*.

O Wild West Wind, thou breath of Autumn's being,
 Thou from whose unseen presence the leaves dead
 Are driven like ghosts from an enchanter fleeing.

But whereas Shelley ends on a note of triumphant optimism :

The trumpet of a prophecy ! O Wind,
 If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind ?

Gulchīn, who was writing at a time when the whole earth was shaken by the hurricane blast of war, saw no redeeming vision of new birth.

آه بر برگ‌های سرگردان
 یادگار بهار و تابستان
 بامدادان چو دیده خورشید

بازگرد میان کوه و سیهر
 در چنین باغ بی گل و بی مهر
 روی این شاخه‌ها چه خط‌هایید

Ah, leaves that flutter heedlessly away,
 Last memories of spring and summer gay,
 To-morrow, when the sun's returning eye
 Peeps 'twixt the mountains and the sky above,
 Within this flowerless garden, bare of love,
 What on these branches shall it then descry ?

The mind of the poet, meditating on what the eye of the poet saw in nature in the autumn of 1944, seems to have had a vision of the wide-spread misery which the storm of war would leave in its trail ; and if the realization

had in it little of optimism, it cannot be said that the events which have followed the decision of 1945 have in anyway belied Gulchīn's dark prognostications.

Sometime in the summer of 1944 I had a talk with Gulchīn about the present tendencies in Persian poetry, and put to him the idea, which I had long had in mind, that the time had come for the old classical themes of the Persian epic to be used again, in idylls after the manner of the nineteenth and twentieth century poets of Europe. A few weeks later Gulchīn brought me a poem of 360 lines on the Suhrāb and Rustam incident. This poem, which has not yet been published, does in fact represent a distinctly new development in narrative style. The poet uses six-lined stanzas similar to those employed in 'Leaves'; the formal subject of the poem is viewed in an eternal perspective; the title of the idyll, مهرکین (Love and Hate), symbolises the poet's intention in composing it. Gulchīn's interpretation of life is still pessimistic, as the following quotation from the beginning of this poem indicates:—

ای بزرگست روزگار
 با هزاران گام پائیز و بهار
 میرود سوی زمستان های نو
 تاز پیکار سیاه صلح و جنگ
 گستراند برف های سیم رنگ
 بر زمین آزمایش های تو
 چون زنی رنگ بزرگ سرنوشت
 شد تویی از آدم و حوا بهشت
 آسمان آشفته شد گرد زمین
 با هزاران کوشش خورشید و ماه
 ابرها کردند گیتی را سیاه
 شد زمین یک رزمگاه مهر و کین
 تیغ هارا آذرخش آماده ساخت
 تندر دیوانه زد شیپور تاخت
 ریخت باران تا کشد دریا خروش
 ریخت باران تا بگرید آبشار
 ریخت باران تا ز چشم کوهسار
 چشمه خشم جهان آید بجوش

When I read these astonishing lines, it seemed to me that the eternal genius of Persian poetry had suddenly taken a long evolutionary leap forward into a future of infinite promise. With all his gifts of image and expression, his rich invention and novelty of phrase, GulchĪn does not turn his back on the classical tradition. He is no revolutionary of the kind too prevalent in world-literature today, denying entirely the values of the past, and casting about like a rudderless ship on pathless waters to find an undiscovered land: he is upon an adventure too, but he knows the old routes, and takes with him the instruments proved valid by skilled seafarers through long centuries of purposeful voyaging.

GulchĪn has some sixty poems not yet published, fifty of them written since he came to England; it is certainly to be desired that he should in the no distant future make a volume of his poetry to date—he is still a young man, and many more volumes of poetry will yet, fate willing, come from his inventive pen, but he has already said important new things which ought not to continue unheard.

On 1 October, 1946, GulchĪn sent me a new poem, with a letter.

"In August I went through a painful physical and emotional experience. I was rewarded in September by six poems which I have collected under the title of 'The Curtain Fell.' I am sending them to you to be kind enough to have a look at them (if your time permits). If you want to have them published, you are welcome. As you will notice these poems are very different from my previous ones which you have seen. No more word painting of the External World. They are an attempt to dig into the Mind. The form is *مشوی* and not new in Persian Literature, but, I think, the style of expression is new. I especially tried to be *vague* in the first of these poems. You will find, here and there, strange combinations of words, but they are intended....."

Though the academic year was just beginning, with all the tiresome routine of interviewing and lecture-planning which that involves, the arrival of a new poem from GulchĪn was too interesting an event to be crowded out of one's attention. I read 'The Curtain Fell,' and at once set to work upon a translation. The result is here to read.

'The Curtain Fell' is, as far as I am aware, the first sequence of its kind to be written in Persian, though of course the form is not entirely novel in other languages. But there is an important feature which distinguishes GulchĪn's use of this form from its treatment in Western literature. The sequence is an application of the technique of musical composition to the art of writing; the poet intends to compose in "movements," and to create a unity out of these "movements" similar to the unity achieved in the symphonic poem art. The Western writer is under a serious handicap in making this attempt because Western prosody is somewhat lacking in variety and definition: the Persian metres, with their firm and clearly differentiated rhythms, provide the poet with a greatly superior instrument. In creating this poetical technique, GulchĪn has opened a fresh chapter in Persian literature which may well rival all the inventions of the

past. To use old forms in a new way, to invent a new synthesis out of old materials—that is the mark of true genius.

Translation is always beset by problems, sometimes insoluble. In making this version of 'The Curtain Fell' I have attempted to reproduce in a limited way the rhythms of the original, though the fluidity of English prosody is a fatal obstacle. It has not been so difficult to imitate Gulchīn's stylistic characteristics; at the same time his disciplined use of words puts the translator very much upon his mettle. Anyhow, even the best translation is but a pale reflection of the original, and the translator can be satisfied if he achieves nothing more than a faithful rendering, without being false to the intention of his model: Gulchīn has read my translation, and was good enough to be satisfied with it. The reader is counselled however not to pay too much heed to the version, but to study the poetry of Gulchīn with the close attention it deserves.

پرده افتاد

خواب^۱

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|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| گشت يك بازى دگر آغاز | پرده افتاد پشت پرده راز |
| بازى سايه روشن پندار | دره و كوه مغز ناهوار |
| در دلت مهر ژاله ديرين | تو در آنجا چوبوى گل شيرين |
| گيج از مشت هاى سخت نگرگ | من در آن سايه چون گل بى برگ |
| دل من همچو ماه بى پرتو | پيش پاى تو پاى كوچك تو |
| همچو خورشيد تيره تابنده | آسمان سياه آينده |
| روى درياى بى نشان اميد | موج هاى دراز و تند و سفيد |
| بادها در سرشك و در ناله | در رخ برگ و در لب لاله |
| دل آزاد و شاد من در بند | در رخ دلفريب تو لب خند |
| چشم تو مرگ وارسد و بزرگ | لب تو جاى گاه بوسه گرگ |
| همه چيزت چو خواب هستى هيچ | موى تو موى بود تو پر پيچ |

خواب مستى^۲

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| دلم را بهر مهت مي تراشد | مرا يك راز پنهان مي خراشد |
| در آن آمدولى روشن نگريد | سپهرى هست در جانم كه خورشيد |
| در آنجا باز شد كم كرد بينش | شب تاريك بك آفرينش |

تو آنجائی ولی بی روشنائی نخواهد یافت چشمم آشنائی
تو آنجائی چو ابرو اختر و باد پر از باران پر از لرزش پر از داد
ولی گوشم کراست و دیده ام کور چنین نزدیکی و آوخ چنان دور

* * *

مرا يك راز پنهان میخراشد دلم را بهر مهرت میتراشد
ولی مهر ترا کی میتوان دید كه تاريك است اينجا چشم خورشید
تهی میسازد از خون جوانی دلم را یاد مرگ و زندگانی
ولی یاد امید دیدن تو مرا پر میکند از هستی نو
مگرایست این معنای هستی امید دیدن يك خواب مستی

۳

سایه

بال من باز شد چو ابر سفید گاه پرواز بود سوی امید
پر زدم روی جنگل انبوه روی گلزار و دشت و دره و کوه
رفتم از لای ابر های گران سوی خورشید های سرگردان
زیر پاهای من در آن پائین چرخ میزد چو توپ کهنه زمین
چرخ میزد چو مست دیوانه مست گمراه مست بیگانه
چرخ میزد چو کاسه سر من سر من توی ابر های کفن
ای خداوند سایه نابود آن زمین بود یا سر من بود

۴

درخت بزرگ

درخت بزرگ است بی شاخ و برگ چنان خشك در پنجه سخت مرگ
چنان زشت چون کور چون استخوان پروکیده چون چهره مر دگان
برویش سپهر و ستاره نموش بیایش چو خون چشمه در جنب و جوش
برویش پر از لکه خاك و گرد در و نشی تهی پوچ نمدار سرد

* * *

به مغز من است این درخت بزرگ در این جنگل شیر و کفتار و گرگ
در این دره تار پندار من در این پرده خواب بیدار من
در این خانه تنگ راز و نیاز در این رشته آرزوی دراز

* * *

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| درخت بزرگست آری بزرگ | نراشیده از پنجه شیر و کرگ |
| پر از عنکبوت و پر از مور و مار | پر از بوم و زاغ و پر از یادگار |
| پر از کینه و مهر و ترس و شگفت | پر از اشك خشك و پر از خون سفت |

* * *

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| به مغز من است این به مغز من است | در این کله درد و رزم و شکست |
| در این آسمان پر از ابر آه | درخنده از اختران سیاه |
| فروزنده از مهر و ماه امید | امید فریبده ناپدید |

•

راه

| | |
|---|--|
| راه است و پای خسته من کفش تنگ من | چاه است و چاله پیچ و خم و نام و تنگ من |
| کوه است و دره جنگل انبوه و سنگ و گل | دندان شیر و کرگ و تپش های درد دل |
| رنج است و ناامیدی و میخ است و خار و نیش | میراندم به پیش که میراندم به پیش |
| این هستی من است و نمیدانم از کجاست | از کیست بهر چیست چنین پرخطر چراست |
| این چیست درد دل من مهر است یا نیاز | یا آزی یا نشانه انگشت چرك راز |
| دل چیست از برای که این جوش و این خروش | این جست و خیز دمبدم موج سرخ پوش |
| دردره های مغز من این رودهای مار | سوی کدام دریا هستند رهسپار |

۶

غار

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| غار تاریك است کوهستان بلند | من در آنجا دست و پای من به بند |
| در سپهر جان من خورشید و ماه | تیره مانند دو الماس سیاه |
| خون سرد آرزوی درد ناك | می چکد از اختران بروی خاك |
| در میان خون و خاك و اشك و گل | می تپد چیزی دما دم آه دل |

* * *

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| آه دل ای ساعت بی تاب من | ای گریز ماه و سال خواب من |
| سرنوشت من سرگذشت درد تست | زنگ ناهنگام وقت نادرست |

* * *

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| دل در آنجا دست و پای دل به بند | غار تاریک است.... کوهستان بلند |
| باز با مال و نلک و چنگال راز | نیست جز تنهائی پرواز باز |
| بانگ نیروی خدای تا توان | نیست جز خاموشی پر بانگ جان |
| * | * |
| زاده تنهائی بیمار من | ای خدا ای زاده پندار من |
| افسریک ارتش بی ساز و برگ | ای خدا ای پرده تاریک مرگ |
| با من و بادل تو در آنجا به بند | غار تاریک است.... کوهستان بلند |

THE CURTAIN FELL*

I

SLEEP

the curtain fell. . behind the veil of mystery
 moved the beginning of another mummery
 the undulations of the brain valley and hill
 the chiaroscuro playing of a fantastic will
 and thou in the midst of it sweet as a rose's scent
 and I like a rose without a leaf within that shade
 beneath the hail's flailing fists staggering flayed
 before thy foot before that little foot of thine
 my heart like to a moon lacking for light to shine
 a vast black firmament of unfulfilling days
 even as a darkened sun gleaming with shadow rays
 long long and swiftly speeding the white breakers sweep
 over the broad expanses of hope's pathless deep
 upon the petal's cheek upon the crocus' lip
 broadly the sighing winds in lamentation weep
 upon thy heart-ravishing cheek flutters a smile
 my heart free and rejoicing stands enchained the while
 upon thy lip lurking the kiss of the wolf's caress
 thine eye huge and mortally cold and comfortless
 and thy hair ah thy flaxen hair twisted and taut
 and all about thee.... like the dream of being.... naught

2

ENRAPTURED DREAM

there is a hidden secret scrapes at me
 chisels my heart to thy love's conformity
 within my soul a sphere whither the sun
 entered but never in its brightness shone
 for there creation's eyelids that dark night
 opened and utterly confounded sight
 and there thou art but lacking light to see
 mine eye shall find no cognizance of thee

* This translation is printed without capital letters and without punctuation as desired by the author.
 [Ed. I. C.

yea thou art there like star and wind and cloud
raining and trembling and lamenting loud
but ah mine ear is stopt my sight is blind
thou art so near but oh so far to find

there is a hidden secret scrapes at me
chisels my heart to thy love's conformity
yet how can it behold thy love at all
where the sun's eye is shrouded in a pall
the memory of death and life for truth
empties my heart of all the blood of youth
yet the remembered hope of seeing thee
fulfils me with renewed vitality
is being's meaning then as it would seem
the hope of seeing one enraptured dream

3

SHADE

and my wings opened out like a cloud all white
opened out time to soar unto hope's far height
pinions struck I and soared over forest dense
over plain garden valley and mountain whence
through the folds of the ponderous clouds I went
toward great suns whirling high in the firmament
far below far below like an ancient gun
neath my feet far below there the round earth spun
spun about madly a drunkard staggering
a mad drunkard and lost unto every thing
spun about like the spinning cup of my head
in the clouds' windingsheet all encircled
lord supreme of the shade of nonentity
was that the earth or was it the head of me

4

THE GREAT TREE

a great tree and branchless and leafless it stands
so dry and so parched gripped in death's icy hands
surpassingly foul like the tomb like a bone
so shrivelled as faces of dead men alone
above it the sky and the stars silent swing
below it like blood boils and bubbles the spring
without it all duststrew and dirtspread and stain
within chill and dampness and void and inane

my brain is the root whence the great tree evolves
this forest of lions hyenas and wolves
and this of my thought the dark valley and deep
and this the spread curtain of my waking sleep
and this the tight cottage of secret and prayer
and this the drawn thread of desire far and fair

a great tree it stands yea a tree hugely great
 the claws of the lions and wolves lacerate
 where spiders and emmets and snakes swarm with me
 and hootowls and ravens and ah memory
 affection and anger and wonder and fear
 and all blood congealed and a dry withered tear

my brain is the root yea it stands in my brain
 these temples of war and disaster and pain
 this broad clouded sky dark with cumulous sighs
 this broad gleaming heaven where black stars arise
 this sky broadly lighted by hope's sun and moon
 by hope bright deceitful and hope vanished soon

5

THE ROAD

there is the road and my weary foot and the narrow shoe I wear
 the well and the pit and the winding whirl and the name and shame I bear
 mountain there is and vale there is dense thicket and stone and clay
 teeth of the lion and the wolf and throb of the heart's dismay
 anguish there is and hopelessness and sting and nettle and thorn
 yet ever onward he bears me on and on by whom am I borne
 this is my being that bears me on and I know not whence it has come
 from whom it is and for what it is so fearful and dangerous
 what is this in this heart of mine is it passion or poverty
 concupiscence or the fingerprint of a dark dim mystery
 what oh what is the heart for whom so turbulent does it rave
 what is this the fall and rise breath breath of a crimson wave
 amid the valleys within my brain these rivulets serpentine
 unto what ocean hurrying down stream on these waters of mine

6

THE CAVERN

dark the cavern ...and the mountainrange is high
 hand enchained and foot enfettered there am I
 in the heaven of my soul the moon and sun
 gleam like two black diamonds darkling and dun
 see the cold blood of an agonizing lust
 trickles dripping from the stars over the dust
 mid the blood and earth and tears and clay a part
 something quivers momentarily ah tis the heart

ah my heart my watch whose fingers ever creep
 ah the speeding of my months and years of sleep
 and my life is all this agony to tell
 the untimely chiming of a lying bell

dark the cavern....and the mountainrange is high
 hand and foot enfettered there my heart must lie
 naught is there save the hawk's lonely flight to see
 hawk with wing and beak and claw of mystery

naught to hear save the loud silence of the soul
the loud power of a god lacking control

o thou god thou child engendered by my thought
o thou child of my sick loneliness begot
o thou god thou death's shrouded and pallid ghost
thou commander of an unprovisioned host
dark the cavern . . . and the mountainrange is high
there enchained art thou and there my heart and I

A. J. ARBERRY.

MĪR GĒSŪ KHĀN, AKBAR'S FAUJDĀR OF KOL (ALIGARH) 1563-83¹

FOR the people of Aligarh, the life-history of Mīr Gēsū Khān² is bound to be a topic of abiding interest. He was the Faujdār (Military Governor) of Kol (Aligarh) Sarkār for at least 20 years, and lies buried in a very beautiful mausoleum, just outside Aligarh city, between the old Delhi gate and Shāh Jamāl. The mausoleum is a protected monument and is in a fairly good state of preservation. In the following pages I have tried to give a connected account of Mīr Gēsū's life as far as I could, from authoritative sources. For reasons unknown, Mīr Gēsū has not been mentioned by Abu'l-Fadl or Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad in the list of Akbar's nobles. He figures in Shāh Nawāz Khān's *Maaṣir-ul-Umara*, and has been mentioned by Blochmann in the list of nobles whose names have been included in Abu'l-Fadl's list. Though Abu'l-Fadl's *Akbar Nāma* is our main authority, neither Abu'l-Fadl nor Shāh Nawāz Khān definitely say that he held the Faujdārship of Kol, but only incidentally mention that in the year of his death he held the governorship of Merta and of some Parganas of the Indo-Gangetic Do-āb. Fortunately, we have some incontrovertible epigraphic evidence in support of tradition to connect Kol with Mīr Gēsū Khān. Mīr Gēsū, described by Abu'l-Fadl and Shāh Nawāz Khān as a Sayyid of Khurāsān, was one of the most trusted of Akbar's officers, and held the post of Bākawāl Bēg (Master of the Royal Kitchens). We do not know anything of his early life. He is first mentioned by Bābar³ as "one of the people come from Kābul"⁴ who sent to him a quatrain commemorating the victory of Kanwata containing the chronogram, "Fath-i Pādshāh-i Islām," which according to Abjad calculation yields 933/1526-27. Bābar adds that this chronogram coincided with that of Shaikh Zain, his Ṣadr (Chief Judge), and that once before these two men sent by a strange coincidence a chronogram in connexion with his victory at Dīpalpūr against Ibrāhīm Lodī, in 930/1523, in the words

1. Delivered as a Muslim University Extension Lecture on 22-11-45.

2. Variouslly spelt as Kēsū, Kīsū and Gīsū Khān.

3. Beveridge, *Bābur Nāma*, 198-99

4. Abu'l-Fadl, *Akbar Nāma*, I, 266, says that the chronogram was sent from Kābul.

"Waṣṭ-i Shahr-i Rabi'-ul-Awwal" (the middle of the month of Rabi' I). Thereafter we lose contact with the Mīr Ṣāhib during the years of revolutionary and cataclysmic changes resulting in the expulsion of the Muḡhals from India and the usurpation of Kābul by Mīrzā Kāmṛān. In Ramaḍān 970, April-May 1563, which corresponds to the 8th Ilāhi year, Mīr Gēsū is noticed as the Faujdār of Kol. Kol, during the middle ages, was one of the life arteries of the Delhi Empire and its governor was, so to say, the custodian of the eastern gate of Delhi, and it is not strange that Akbar should have selected a faithful servant for the post. During his governorship of Kol, he constructed some edifices (now extending from the eastern perimeter walls of Shāh Jamāl to the Khair Road in the north and the Kərbela Road in the south) which have been identified by the compiler of the N.-W. Province Gazetteer¹ as an 'Idgāh. Dr. Harrovitz in his *Muslim Inscriptions*² seems to have followed the author of the Gazetteer. This view seems to have been taken because of the existence of an octagonal Chhatrī (canopied pavilion), commonly known as the Ātkhamba from its pillars, standing in front of the inscription now fixed in the outer eastern wall of Shams-ul-'Ārifin Shāh Jamāl. The second, fourth and sixth hemistiches of this inscription have almost wholly corroded. It is strange that the inscription should be found in the wall of another building, but the fact is that the inscription was fixed on a canopied mosque which does not exist at present but the foundation of which can be clearly traced. The whole site and its surroundings was the garden-house of Mīr Gēsū Khān and members of his family (now the municipal graveyard), and this can be confirmed by the tradition obtaining in the locality. The octagonal canopied hall was used by the Mīr Ṣāhib as his rest-house. The translation of the inscription is as follows, and the text is given in footnote below.³

"In the reign of the victorious monarch and in the time of the faith-cherishing emperor, Jalāluddīn Muḡammad Akbar, king of kings, Muḡammad Gēsū Khān, who is the fruit of the Prophet's heart and the pupil of 'Alī's eyes,⁴ constructed this building. The building was erected in the month of Ramaḍān, in the year of the Hījra 900 and seventy years over (i.e., 970/1563)."

During the year of the construction of the garden-mosque (970 H. corresponding to the 8th Ilāhi year) containing the inscription referred

1. Vol. II, 488.

2. *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*, 1909-1048.

3.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| جلال الدین محمد شاه بر شاهنشاهان اکبر | محمد خسروی غازی بدورشاه دین پرور |
| نیرا میوه جاست و علی را دیده انور | با کرد این عمارت را محمد گیسوان خاں |
| زهجرت بود سالش نهصد و هفتاد بالاتر | مرتب شد این عمارت در مه رمضان |

4. The Mīr Ṣāhib was a Sayyid.

to above, Mīr Gēsū is noticed¹ in Nārnaul,² which then formed a part of Miwāt, acting as the 'Āmil of the Crown-lands. He seems to have been sent there on special duty to settle accounts and bring the royal revenue. But before he had performed his duties, he was taken prisoner by Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī, a favourite of the Court since the days of Humāyūn, having a long record of misdeeds. The story is as follows.

Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī was a Sayyid of Tirmiz,³ a handsome and courageous youth, but proud, arrogant and misguided. He had enlisted himself in Humāyūn's service when the latter captured Kābul, in 1554 from Mīrzā Kāmran, and made himself a favourite of the emperor to such an extent that the latter called him his son, and condoned many of his insolent deeds. He displeased Humāyūn, soon after, in Qandahar, by killing Shēr 'Alī Bēg, one of Shāh Tahmāsp's exiled courtiers, whose only fault was that he was a Shi'ā. Kind-hearted and lenient as Humāyūn was, he did not punish him. Shāh Ma'ālī accompanied Humāyūn in his reconquest of India and is mentioned by Abu'l-Faḍl⁴ second in the list of 57 generals, and participated in the battles of Sirhind and Pānīpat. He was made governor of Lahore and commissioned to stop Sikandar Sūr. He mismanaged his administration, dismissed loyal officers, laid hands on the royal revenue, and failed to stop Sikandar. He had to be replaced by Prince Akbar and given the less important governorship of Hisār Firūza instead. He resented this treatment and in the first year of Akbar's accession to the throne⁵ he rebelled, and would have been decapitated by Bairam Khān Khān Khānān but for the intercession of Akbar. He was placed in the custody of the Kotwāl of Lahore, but fled from prison soon after. In the fifth Ilāhī year, 1569 A.D. when sent by Khān Khānān to solicit Akbar's pardon at Jhajhar, he gave offence to the youthful sovereign by performing 'Kurnish' mounted.⁶ He was put in chains and sent to Mecca to atone for his misdeeds. Unfortunately the pilgrimage worked no change in him. As soon as he returned from Mecca in the 8th Ilāhī year (1570 A.D.), instead of repairing to the court, he rebelled again at the instigation of Sharfuddīn Husain Mīrza,⁷ Akbar's brother-in-law, who had fled from the court as a rebel and had established

1. Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma*, II, 199. Nizāmuddīn, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 126.

2. The pargana of Nārnaul, formerly included in the Sarkār of the same name, formed part of the Sūba of Agrā (Ā'in II, Jarrett, p. 193-4.) Nārnaul town is situated on the banks of the Chhalak Nadi, and 37 miles from Rewāri, with which it is connected by the Rewāri-Phulēra branch of the Rājputāna Railway. It is now the headquarters of the Muhammadgarh Nizāmat, Patiala State., *J. G. Vol. XVIII*, p. 38, 1908 edition.

3. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. I, p. 380.

4. *Ibid.*, I, 342.

5. Nizāmuddīn, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, II, 127.

6. *Maasir-i Rahīmī*, Abdul Bāqī, A.S.B., I, 282.

7. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, II, 427 (A.S.B.); Ā'in, Blochmann, I, 322-23, No. 17. The Mīrzā was the holder of a rank of 5000 and married Bakhshi Bānū, Akbar's sister.

himself at Nagpur, his Jāgīr. The Mīrzā made a pact with Abu'l-Ma'ālī at Jhalāwār to the effect that the Mīrzā would help him with 300 of his best men, and that if things went well, he would join him openly, if not he would seek asylum in Kābul and bring with him Mīrzā Hākīm (Akbar's half-brother). Abu'l-Ma'ālī made a surprise sally on the Crown-lands at Hājīpūr¹ in the heart of Miwāt, which was in charge of Husain Qulī Khān.² He was foiled in his attempts by the promptness of Aḥmad Bēg and Iskandar Bēg, who attacked Abu'l-Ma'ālī from the rear, in obedience to court orders. Checked at Hājīpūr, Abu'l-Ma'ālī turned towards Nārnaul, which had been lately freed from the Crown-lands and conferred as Jāgīr on Shujā'at Khān,³ and his son Qawīm Khān. Mīr Gēsū, who was functioning as the 'Āmil of the Crown-lands at Nārnaul, did his best to send a portion of the royal treasures to the court, but failed "on account of a disagreement between the present and past agents."⁴ The whole party of officials was surprised by Abu'l-Ma'ālī one morning, with the result that Qawīm Khān saved himself by flight, Mīr Gēsū was taken prisoner, and Nārnaul town with a substantial part of the royal treasure was captured by Abu'l-Ma'ālī. The latter was not destined to enjoy his loot for a long time. Husain Qulī Khān promptly dispatched an army under Šādiq Khān⁵ and Ismā'il Qulī Khān,⁶ which succeeded in capturing, by chance, Khānzāda Muḥammad, brother of Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī, derisively styled Shāh-i-Laundān, the king of the vagabonds, within 24 miles of Nārnaul town. Malik Muḥammad was going to join his brother at that town.

From the 8th to the 16th Ilāhi year, there exists a big gap in our knowledge of Mīr Gēsū Khān. He seems to have been released as soon as Nārnaul was reconquered, for we learn from history that Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī had been driven to the Punjab and forced to seek an asylum in Kābul, where he created more history, but not till he had killed his brave pursuers Aḥmad Bēg and Iskandar Bēg in an ambush in the Punjab. In the 16th Ilāhi year, we hear of Mīr Gēsū's deputation as the governor of Bakkhar. The circumstances of his advent are as follows.

After Mīrza Shāh Husain Arghūn's death (962 H.), his empire became divided into two principal portions. Bakkhar slipped into the hands of Sultān Maḥmūd Arghūn, and Tatta into those of Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān. The latter (Mīrza 'Īsā) had married Hājī Bēgum, daughter of Muqīm Mīrzā, the widow of Qāsim Khān Kobkā and afterwards, of his brother

1. Hājīpūr is placed by Abu'l-Fadl, Ā'in, Jarrett, II, 191, in Alwar Sarkar.

2. Ā'in, I, Blochmann, p. 329-30, No. 24, under Khān Jahān Husain Qulī Khān, holder of a rank of 5000.

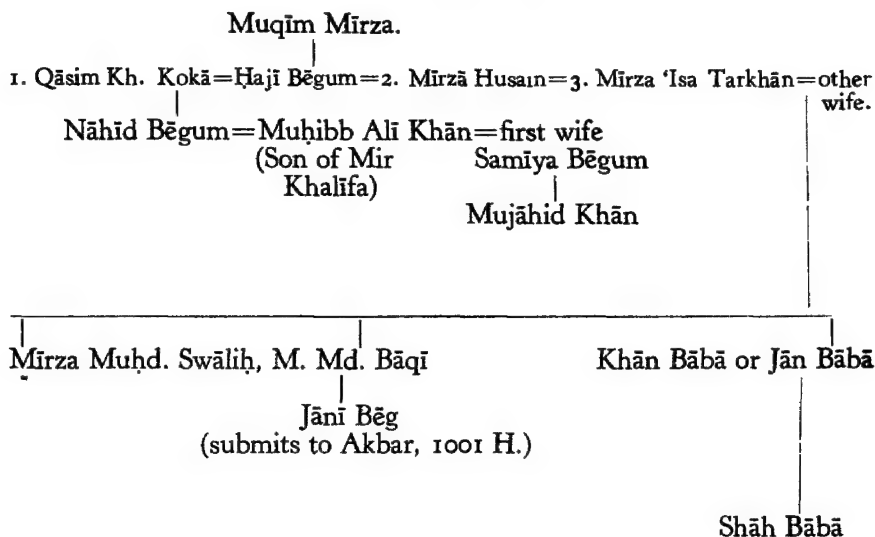
3. Ā'in, I, Blochmann, 371, No. 29; son of Tardī Bēg and holder of a rank of 5,000 acc. to Nizāmuddin.

4. Akbar Nāma, II, 199.

5. Ā'in, Blochmann, 455, No. 43; rank 4000.

6. Ā'in, I, Blochmann, 360, No. 46, brother of Khān Jahān Husain Qulī Khān.

Mīrzā Husain, as is shown in the genealogical table.



Qāsim Khān Kokā had sacrificed his life in trying to save Bābar who was taken captive by the Uzbēg chief 'Ubēdullāh Khān. He told his captor, pointing towards Bābar, "I am the king, why have you seized this servant of mine?" with the consequence that Bābar was free and he was decapitated instead.¹ Bābar took Qāsim Khān's family under his protection. Hājī Bēgum was allowed to marry Mīrzā Husain of Tatta and, after his death, his brother Mīrza 'Isā. Hājī Bēgum's daughter Nāhīd Bēgum was given in marriage to Muhibb 'Alī Khān (son of Mīr Khalifa), a faithful servant of the Mughal court. Nāhīd Bēgum obtained leave to visit her mother Hājī Bēgum at Tatta. But before she arrived, Mīrzā 'Isā had died (975/1567),² and Mīrzā Bāqī who succeeded Mīrza 'Isā had imprisoned Hājī Bēgum. The latter tried to secure her release through her step-son, Khān Bābā. The plot miscarried and both Khān Bābā and Hājī Bēgum were imprisoned; the former was put to death subsequently. The aged Hājī Bēgum died in prison. Her daughter Nāhīd Bēgum escaped capture and succeeded in seeking an asylum with Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Bakkhar, one of whose daughters Akbar had married.³ Sultan Maḥmūd suggested to her that if she petitioned the Mughal Durbār to send her husband Muhibb 'Alī Khān with an army, he would assist him in capturing Tatta for the Mughals. Nāhīd Bēgum went to Akbar's court to solicit armed

1. *Akbar-Nāma*, II, 362.

2. *Firishta*, Newalkishore, II, 322.

3. *Daudpotā, Tārīkh-i Sind*, 230.

assistance, with the result that the emperor commissioned the old veteran Muhibb, who had given up a military career for a long while to lead an army for the purpose. He was permitted to take with him the kettle-drum which was an insignia of royalty and also his grandson Mujāhid Khān.¹ Before Muhibb 'Alī came to Bakkhar to join forces with Maḥmūd, a new situation had arisen in Bakkhar itself.

Maḥmūd Khān in his dotage had entrusted the government of Bakkhar to Mubārak Khān, described by Abu'l-Faḍl as the chief of his cavalry guard (Khāsa Khail), and his son Bēg Ughlī, a drunkard and a debauchee. The latter, intent on taking into his own hands the reins of administration, entered into a conspiracy with a number of Maḥmūd's officers. The Sultān having come to know of this plot before it matured, Bēg Ughlī fled to Alwar, to his father, and represented to him that the Sultān was bent on taking their lives.² There may be some grain of truth in Abu'l-Faḍl's statement that Bēg Ughlī had amorous connexions with one of Sultān Maḥmūd's wives and that the Sultān was determined to avenge himself by extirpating the family. Anyway, Mubārak Khān decided to go to Nagaur to solicit His Majesty's help. But ultimately, he acted on the advice of some of his men who suggested a sally on Bakkhar, where he was sure to get assistance from the disaffected elements. With drums beating, Mubārak Khān made an attack on Lohāri³ fort but the rebel forces commanded by him were defeated and put to headlong flight. On Rajab 22, 980/November 29, 1572, Mubārak and Bēg Ughlī fled to Muhibb 'Alī Khān and Mujāhid Khān, already on their way to Bakkhar, and received a warm reception. Mubārak had brought with him a force 1500 strong. When Muhibb 'Alī came near Bakkhar, Sultān Maḥmūd sent a message that he had no need of Muhibb Khān's help, that he was in a position to conduct the Tatta campaign unassisted, and that if the imperial army had any intention of attacking Tatta, it should do so *via* Jaisalmīr. Muhibb, who was placed in a difficult position owing to his being accompanied by a small force, and decided instead to fight Sultān Maḥmūd Bakkhari, who had proved himself a treacherous ally dispersed the latter's forces before the fort of Matila, which he captured subsequently with his ludicrously small band of 22 men, against 2000 of his opponents.⁴ This seems to be an exaggeration for, we know from Nizāmuddīn (*Tabq.*, II, 233-4) that he was accompanied by 400 mounted soldiers which he collected in his recently acquired Jāgīr in Multan. Reinforcing his position with booty captured within Matila fort, Muhibb

1. Abu'l-Faḍl, A. N. II, 362, identifies Mujāhid as Muhibb's son but in A.N., III, p. 91, he corrects himself by saying that he was his daughter Samīya Bēgum's son.

2. *Tārikh-i-Sind*, Daudpōta, 231.

3. Lohān Bandar, a village in Karachi District, Sind, in Lat. 24 32 N, and Long. 47 28 E, on the south or left bank of the Baghi or western bank of the Indus, now falling into decay on account of the recession of the Indus. *I. G.*, Vol. VIII, 419, 1886 edn.

4. *Akbar Nāma*, II, 264.

proceeded towards Bakkhar, destroying the fleet of boats which Sultān Maḥmūd had sent to intercept the invaders, under the command of his brother's son, 'Alī Qulī Khān.¹ The Bakkhar fort, which is situated on an island formed by the river Indus, was invested, Sakkhar on the opposite bank was captured, and a bridge of boats was thrown across the river. The fort, however, held out heroically. A large number of attackers and defenders were killed. Muḥibb at last won over by bribes a large number of Maḥmūd's officers.² When the situation became hopeless, the Sultān represented to his son-in-law, the Emperor, that he would be ready to surrender the keys of the fort if the Emperor sent some other officer. Agreeing to this, His Majesty sent Mīr Gēsū Khān, who was acting at the court as Dārogha-i-Khāṣ³ of the emperor. But before Mīr Gēsū's arrival on the 12th Jāmādī, I, 982/August 30, 1574, armed with an imperial Farmān to divide Tatta equally between Muḥibb and Mujāhid and imprison Muhammad Bāqī Tarkhān,⁴.....Sultan Maḥmūd had died on the 8th Safar, 982 H. at the age of 84,⁵ and the fort of Bakkhar was marking time to surrender itself to the Mīr Šāhib. At the time of Mīr Gēsū's arrival towards Bakkhar, Mujāhid Khān was engaged in the siege of Ganjāba (Ganjāwa). Samīya Bēgum Muḥibb 'Alī's daughter, resented her father's disgrace, sent some corvettes against Mīr Gēsū, and nearly captured him.⁶ Muqīm Khān Herātī, the father of the celebrated historian, Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, who was serving in Bakkhar, prevailed upon Muḥibb 'Alī and Mujāhid Khān to abandon their disloyal attitude. Mīr Gēsū thereafter came and took the keys of the fort 982/1574, about three years after the commencement of its investment.

Muḥibb and Mujāhid could not free their minds from malice. Since it was difficult for them to stay without the emperor's permission, it was mutually settled between Mīr Gēsū and Muḥibb that the latter should retire with his wife and daughter to Laherī and Mujāhid should go to Tatta. But when Muḥibb was moving with his family Mīr Gēsū made a treacherous attack towards Tatta, with a formidable river fleet, burnt his boats and forced Muḥibb to seek safety in Matila fort. Laherī was plundered by Mīr Gēsū's men, and Muḥibb's standard and kettle-drums were captured. But Samīya Bēgum, Muḥibb's daughter, fortified her house and held out for a day and a night. Mujāhid Khān arrived at a time when the defences were crumbling,⁷ and dispersed Mīr Gēsū's forces. Mujāhid held out for three months against the imperial troops commanded by Mīr Gēsū, controlling the lands east of the river Indus. When the news

1. Daudpotā's *Tār Sind*, 233. (28)

2. *Akbar Nāma*, II, 264.

3. Bāyazīd Bayat, *Taghkhira-i-Humāyun wa Akbar*.

4. Elliot, I, 240.

5. *Tār Sind*, Daudpōta, 2433

6. *Akbar Nāma*, III, 91.

7. *Ibid*.

reached Akbar, he became displeased with the conduct of his general, who had mismanaged things, who had failed to extirpate the rebels and had made himself disliked by the Sindhīs and the Mughals at the same time. The Emperor superseded Mīr Gēsū by Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān as the Faujdār of Bakkhar, Muḥarram, 983/April, 1575, and Muḥibb Khan was ordered to go to court. Muḥibb was appointed Mīr-i-'Arz (Muster-Master) and in the 23rd Ilāhī year he was appointed governor of Delhi in which capacity he died, in 989/1581. Intoxicated with power, Mīr Gēsū made up his mind to hold out against Tarsūn "but at last guided by auspiciousness," he gave up the idea.¹ Mīr Maṣūm² explains the incident in greater detail. Gēsū actually defied Tarsūn Muḥammad for some time and only gave in when a memorial as to the true state of affairs in Bakkhar was drawn up by the Ulama and Sayyids to be forwarded to the imperial court. He surrendered the fort, but was not allowed to get out before he had assisted Tarsūn Muḥammad in compiling a statement regarding Sultān Maḥmūd's treasures and effects. Tarsūn came to Lāhore with the chief wife of Sultān Maḥmūd, Khwāja Sarā Rāi Singh Darbāri, and Banwālī the writer. At the time of his departure Tarsūn was appointed governor of Agra, and Sayyid Muḥammad,³ the Mīr-i-'Adl, a Sayyid of Amroha was ordered by the court to take charge of Bakkhar. Commenting on Mīr Gēsū's revolt, Abu'l-Faḍl finds fault with the country of Sind thus:— "A country which, when held for some time by a stranger, increases presumption, must have some quality in it which carries the obedient and submissive to the extreme of turbulence."⁴

Akbar soon pardoned the Mīr Ṣāhib for his failings and misdeeds and 8 years afterwards appointed him governor of Mertha in addition to his sinecure of Kol. It was at Mertha that Mīr Gēsū died in the most tragic circumstances. It was the misfortune of the Mīr Ṣāhib that whenever he went, he could not win the affection of the people or win the co-operation of his subordinates. At times he made himself odious. "Owing to the ignorance of business," mildly writes Abu'l-Faḍl, "he was continually having altercation with base soldiers. . . . From a bad disposition, he did not expel avarice from his heart, and did not treat them (soldiers) with frankness."⁵ On the 8th October, 1583, corresponding to the first Shawwal, 991 ('Id-ul-Fiṭr) he reproached some of his servants in a fit of intoxication. In the morning he went to the 'Idgāh heavily drunk. One of his servants came to ask for his pardon, but Mīr Gēsū ordered him to be imprisoned, whereupon Ibrāhīm Nārnaulī came with some others but Mīr Gēsū rebuked them too. Ibrāhīm drew his sword but was subsequently removed from the scene by other servants while others

1. *Ā'in*, Blochmann, p. 342-43., No. 32, holder of a rank of 5000.

2. *Akbar Nāma*, III, 91.

3. *Ā'in*, Blochmann, p. 438, No. 140.

4. *Akbar Nāma*, III, 91.

5. *Ibid.*, 414.

tried to release the servant, Mūsa, imprisoned by the Mīr Šāhib. On perceiving this, the Mīr Šāhib went to their quarters and set them on fire. The miscreants turned back to fight Mīr Gēsū and hacked him to death. Even this did not satisfy their revengeful spirit. They burnt Mīr Gēsū's dead body. Akbar was prompt to act, and punished the mischief-makers severely.¹ It appears that his charred body was carried to Kol to be buried in his garden-house, in the mausoleum which from circumstantial evidence appears to have been constructed by his son.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMB

MİR GĒSŪ's tomb is to be found at the eastern end of the enclosure known as Mīr Gēsū's garden, bounded by Shāh Jamāl in the west² and the Khair Road and Kərbela Road forming its northern and southern boundaries, respectively. While approaching the garden from the Kərbela Road, the visitor faces first a heap of Kankar blocks, on the site of the garden gate. On the right side of this gate there exists, of course in a much restricted space, Mīr Gēsū's masonry tank now mainly used by washermen. The gate contained a 'Bāradārī' overlooking the tank. A little ahead of the gate, on the Kərbela Road, the domed structure in the middle on the right-hand side is Mīr Gēsū's tomb. Its main east gate was rebuilt in comparatively recent years, of tiles, *with due regard to the saving of money*. The approach to the real tomb lies through a subterranean passage, as in Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, through six steps each 9 inches high. On the western side of the tomb exists a mosque measuring about 46 feet in length with walls about 7 ft. in width. The domed mausoleum with canopies all round stands on a platform measuring 21 feet on each side and six feet above ground. The structure looks like a canopied pavilion, surmounted by a semi-spherical masonry dome whose uncouth monotony has been relieved by four small minarets, one at each corner. The platform is pierced by three doors, to the east, south and north, and two carved red sandstone screens stand at each of these three sides. On the top of the platform existed the imitation graves, but the real graves are to be found in the subterranean chamber. The graves, it is significant, are three in number.

The workmanship and the design are an interesting mixture of the Hindu and Muslim styles so prominently visible in the Sayyid Lodi buildings. The use of the horizontal slabs instead of Muslim arches to support the dome, the existence of exquisitely carved brackets, the use of the lotus design,—the last two so prominently marked in the building of the Agra Fort and Akbar's tomb at Sikandra—are Hindu features.

1. *Maasir-ul Umara*, III, 251.

2. The garden occupies a much bigger area than is at present indicated, quite in keeping with its massive and huge gate.

The Muslim features are the dome, the four corner minarets at the base of the dome, the floral design at the base of the pillars, the exquisitely carved marble screen, and the use of coloured tiles. The beautiful brackets are exactly the same as are met with in Akbar's buildings in the Agra Fort or Fatehpūr Sikrī. This design appears to have been in common use or it may be that architects were brought from Agra for the purpose.

Of the three graves in the vaulted chamber, the one at the centre is Mīr Gēsū's, and the other of his wife's and the third, possibly that of his son Jalāluddīn Mas'ūd who seems to have been the architect of the mausoleum and had reserved space for his mother and himself both dying on the same day. It is interesting to note that Mīr Gēsū is the second governor of Kol whose dead body was brought from outside to this place for burial, the first being Shaikh Ghuran, who died at Māndū (Malwa) during Humāyūn's reign and lies buried just outside the gate of Shāh Jamāl's tomb. In the case of the Mīr Šāhib, it appears that his burnt body was brought from Mertha and deposited, according to his own will, at Kol. A little ahead of this tomb stands an octagonal pavilion surmounted by a semi-spherical masonry dome, supported not on arches but on horizontal red stone slabs in Hindu fashion. In between the bottom of the dome and the top of the pillar, red stone projections go round the structure in an octagonal manner. The platform is 2 feet above the ground and is supported by eight pillars which are octagonal at the base up to 2 feet sixteen-sided for the next two feet, and then rounded up to the top. This structure stood in front of the mosque now in ruins, at the Mihrāb of which stood the inscription discussed before. Within this garden enclosure to the north of the Ātkhamba, there exists a double-storeyed pavilion, very bold in design, and the highest structure in the locality. Its construction, design and even detail are similar to those of the Ātkhamba just mentioned, so that there cannot be any doubt that both were constructed by the same individual, i.e., Mīr Gēsū. The lower storey contained a small room which possessed stone screens on three sides, and was most probably used by the Mīr Šāhib as his resting-place during the cold weather; the pavilion on the top of the room was used in the suffocating weather during the rains, and the Ātkhamba pavilion by the side of the mosque was used during the hot and dry weather. The pavilion at the top of the small winter-house is round at the top, and contains the same number of pillars, a similar flat red stone dome, and the same workmanship in the pillars as the earlier Ātkhamba.

I now close my account of Mīr Gēsū with a short analysis of his character. Mīr Ma'sūm* describes him as a severe and bad-tempered man. He was at the same time a hard drunkard, extremely unbusiness-like, cruel, avaricious and treacherous. Some Arghūn leaders who joined him at Bakkhar after deserting Muhibb 'Alī Khān were put to death by him at the suggestion of Shāh Bābā, son of Jān Bābā Tarkhān. On another

* Elliot, I, 241.

occasion Barjī Towāchī having been guilty of some fault, he had chains placed on his feet in the presence of the court. He could not distinguish himself in any battle nor behave with chivalry. He chased Muḥibb 'Alī's boats near Bakkhar and sought their destruction, in spite of the fact that the chief was travelling, after the conclusion of terms, with his wife and daughter. He did not scruple to fight against women as he did against Samiyya Begum, Muḥibb 'Alī's daughter, and was defeated in the end. In 971, he preferred to become Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī's prisoner rather than risk his life by giving fight. He forfeited the love and affection of the people over whom he was appointed to rule. Yet this favourite had a place in the corner of the Emperor's heart, and the latter condoned his faults as soon as they were committed. Mīr Gēsū's life-history illustrates the fact that a court-favourite without much ability and with a reputation for mismanaging things could hold the governorship of more than one administrative districts separated from one another by hundreds of miles of trackless roads and sandy deserts. It also illustrates the extent to which wine-drinking prevailed among the aristocratic strata of the Mughal society.

Mīr Gēsū's son Jalāluddīn Mas'ūd,¹ the holder of the rank of 400, "a brave man who won several battles and had done great deeds,"² died of diarrhoea on the 8th Muḥarram, 1017/12th April, 1608, early in Jahāngīr's reign at the age of 50/60 years. He was an opium-eater and ate opium lumps like cheese, and very often from the hands of his mother. When his mother despaired of his survival, she took the opium from her son's doses, and died 2 or 3 hours after him. "It is the custom," comments Jahāngīr "among the Hindūs, that after the death of their husbands, women burn themselves, whether from love or to save the honour of their fathers, or from being ashamed before their sons-in-law, but nothing like this was ever manifested on the part of mothers, Hindū or Musalmān."³ Jalāluddīn Mas'ūd was probably the only issue of his parents.

Thus lived Mīr Gēsū, and supposing that at the time of his sending the chronogram commemorating the victory of Dīpalpūr which took place in 930 H. he was aged 20 years, he had attained, in the year of his death in 991 H. a ripe old age of over 80. This is but one more proof that the Mughal civil servicemen did not retire at the age of 55 or even 60, but remained in service till death, if not removed by the sovereign himself. Mīr Gēsū has bequeathed his name to the village of Gēsūpūr, seven miles north of Śikandrābad (Śikandrābād Pargana), Bulandshahr District, U.P. This flourishing village with more than 5000 inhabitants, will always remind us of that great court-favourite, Mīr Gēsū Khān, Akbar's Faujdār of Kol.

A. HALIM.

1. *Maasrūl Umara*, III, 252.

2. *Tuzak*, I, Rogers, 141.

3. *Ibid.*, 142.

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‘ALĀ’-UD-DĪN KHILJĪ’S MONGOL POLICY

LOSS OF THE SCIENTIFIC FRONTIER

THE Muslim empire in India, in its early stage of expansion, enjoyed the advantage of a scientific frontier. Muḥammad Ghorī succeeded in establishing an extensive empire stretching from Ghaznī to Bengal. No doubt there were weak links in the defensive armour—particularly the latent hostility of the Hindus and the active hostilities of one of the most warlike races of Northern India, the Khokhars. But in spite of these obvious shortcomings, the empire had the initial advantage of a scientific frontier since it controlled the hilly districts round about Ghaznī and the Peshawar plain and thus could prevent the foreign invasion of the country. But this advantage was lost in the time of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aibak. Quṭb-ud-Dīn was able to expel the influential chief Yaldoz—from Ghaznī¹ but his triumph was short-lived. After a month Yaldoz managed to recover Ghaznī.² The loss of Ghaznī was a serious blow to the prestige of the Delhi empire. The unity of the empire was broken up and in the time of Iltutmish there began a triangular contest for power between Yaldoz, Qubaicha and Iltutmish. No one can tell with certainty who would have emerged triumphant out of the struggle for the rivals were fairly well matched. But the struggle was decided in favour of Iltutmish by the rise of the Mongol power in Central Asia. Chingīz Khān overran China and the countries of Western Asia. Balkh, Bokhara, Samarkand and many other flourishing cities were plundered and laid low. Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khwārizm Shāh fled towards Ghaznī.³ Yaldoz evacuated Ghaznī and fled to the Punjab.⁴ But with his weakened resources Yaldoz was not able to offer stiff resistance to Iltutmish. Iltutmish defeated him at Tarain.⁵ Yaldoz was imprisoned and put to death.⁶ The Mongol invasion thus indirectly strengthened the power of Iltutmish

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 135-136.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā*, by Juwainī, II, p. 149.

4. *Nāṣiri*, p. 171.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

since he was able to get rid of one of his formidable rivals. Chingiz occupied Ghazni and defeated Jalāl-ud-Dīn on the banks of the Indus.¹ Jalāl-ud-Dīn fled to the Punjab and made an alliance with the Khokhars.² Jalāl-ud-Dīn thought it prudent to attack Qubaicha rather than Iltutmish.³ Jalāl-ud-Dīn's inroads into Sindh considerably weakened the power of Qubaicha,⁴ so that Iltutmish did not find much difficulty in getting rid of his second formidable rival and in bringing Sindh under his control.⁵ Thus the pressure of the Mongol invasion altered the balance of power in favour of Iltutmish. Iltutmish was soon able to consolidate his power. But the Delhi empire had to face a new problem—the defence of the frontier against the Mongol inroads. The problem bristled with difficulties. The Mongols enjoyed the strategical advantage of the control of the mountain passes, which enabled them to debouch on the plains of India. The Indus did not prove a formidable barrier, and even in the reign of Iltutmish, Chingiz sent two columns of troops under Turtai, Chugtā'i and Uktā'i to ravage the territories of Multan.⁶ Thus the loss of the scientific frontier created the problem of the defence of the north-west frontier for the Delhi Sultanate.

HUMBLE BEGINNING OF THE FRONTIER POLICY

THE Mongols soon exploited their superior strategical position. In 1241 A.D. they succeeded in capturing and destroying Lahore.⁷ In 1245 A.D. they laid siege to the fort of Ucha and it was only at the approach of a large army from Delhi that they retired.⁸ Balban was the first Muslim ruler to realise the necessity of devising an effective frontier policy. He infused vigour into the administration. He strengthened the frontier forts such as Dipalpur and Samana, made the administration half civil and half military, and avoided distant military expeditions.⁹ His wardens of the marches, especially Shēr Khān, did much to stem the tide of Mongol conquests, though in the end the Mongol pressure proved too strong and Prince Muḥammad was defeated and killed.¹⁰ The Mongols were encouraged, and in the time of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khiljī a keenly contested battle took place which was followed by a truce.¹¹ Thousands of Mongols settled down in Moghalpura, near Delhi.¹²

1. Juwainī, II, pp. 150-151.

2. *Idem.*, p. 145.

3. *Idem.*, p. 145.

4. *Idem.*, p. 146.

5. Nāṣirī, p. 173.

6. Juwainī, II, pp. 155-157.

7. Nāṣirī, p. 194.

8. *Idem.*, p. 200.

9. Barmī, pp. 50-51.

10. *Idem.*, pp. 218-219.

11. Barmī, p. 65 and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 96.

12. *Ibid.*

THE TITANIC STRUGGLE

THE full weight of the Mongol invasions was felt in the reign of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Khiljī. A titanic struggle followed between two mighty empires—the Muslim empire controlling the rich plains of India, and the Mongol empire controlling the vast military resources of Central Asia. Before the Khiljī period the Mongol hordes had practically disregarded India and had turned their attention chiefly to the conquest of Persia, Southern Europe and China. But the sharp differences which occurred in the rival Mongol camps in 1251 led to a reorientation of policy. In the *quirillai* of 1251, the Chaghtā'i and Ogtā'i princes refused to acknowledge the 'Khāqānship' of Mangu and set up an independent kingdom under Qaidu in Māwarā-u'n-Nahar and Turkistan.¹ As has been ably pointed out by Prof. Ḥabīb—"This division of Mongol power saved the kingdom of Delhi, which could not have withstood a united attack of the Mongols. The 'Il-Khāns of Persia naturally paid homage to Mangu and his successors, who like them were descendants of Tului, but they were constantly at war with Mameluks of Egypt in Syria and more often than not, had the worst of it."² It was the Chaghtā'i and Ogtā'i princes of Māwarā-u'n-Nahar who invaded India several times in the reign of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Khiljī. "They were being hard pressed by the 'Khāqān' in the west and by 'Il-Khāns in the east, and this naturally made them anxious to carve out principalities for themselves elsewhere."³

MULTAN—THE BASTION OF THE DELHI SULTANATE

WHEN 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Khiljī got the throne of Delhi (in 1296 A.D.) by the treacherous murder of his uncle Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khiljī, Multan, the bastion of the Delhi Sultanate against Mongol inroads, was threatened with a serious rebellion under Arkali Khān.⁴ The rebellion was however soon brought under control.⁵ But the weakening of the frontier defences led to the inevitable result—viz., a fairly formidable Mongol expedition right down to the plains of Jullundhur.⁶

In 1298 A.D. Du'a Khān, ruler of Māwarā-u'n-Nahr, sent a large army of 100,000 Mongol soldiers to plunder the plains of the Punjab.⁷ The Mongols came by way of the Jud mountains and crossed the Jehlum and Sutlej rivers, destroying the villages of the Khokhars and the buildings of Qasur.⁸ The imperial forces under Ulugh Khān defeated them at

1. *History of the Mongols*, by Howarth, I, pp. 173-182

2. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*, tr. by Prof. Ḥabīb (footnotes) p. 25.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Barnī*, pp. 244-249.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Barnī*, p. 250.

7. *Tārīkh-i-Firishā*, (1864 edition), I, p. 102.

8. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*, op cit. pp. 243-25.

Jaran of Manjur.¹ Barnī says that the battle took place at Jullundhur² while Firishta mentions that it took place within the confines of Lahore.³ But since the battle took place (according to Amīr Khusrau)⁴ by the side of the Sutlej, probably Jaran Manjur may be identified with Jullundhur. 'Alā'ud-Dīn, realising the necessity of strengthening the defences of Multan, deputed Zafar Khān for the conquest of Siwistan (or Sehwan).⁵ Zafar Khān defeated Saldi the Mongol commandant and brought Siwistan under his control.⁶ Saldi and his followers were brought captives to Delhi in the winter of 1299-1300 A.D.⁷

THE TRIAL OF STRENGTH

'Alā'-ud-Dīn did not get much time to reorganise his forces before he was called upon to face one of the most formidable invasions of India. In 1300 A.D. Qutlugh Khwāja, son of Du'a Khān, came from Māwarā-u'n-Nahr at the head of a large force.⁸ He crossed the Indus, abstained from the plunder of the plains of the Punjab and marched straight on to Delhi, thus making a bid for the throne of Delhi.⁹ This bold coup seems to have taken 'Alā'-ud-Dīn by surprise. Thousands of people from the neighbouring villages flocked to Delhi, to escape plunder and slaughter at the hands of the Mongol hordes.¹⁰ This further increased 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's administrative difficulties since it was difficult to feed and lodge the large influx of these immigrants.¹¹ At this critical moment 'Alā'-ud-Dīn held an important meeting of his council of ministers.¹² Malik 'Alā'-ul-Mulk (uncle of Barnī), the fat but influential Kotwal of Delhi, was of opinion that it would be suicidal to face the formidable Mongol army; the best plan would be to stand a siege and to tire out the patience of the Mongols. The Malik remarked that the Muslim army had merely gained an experience of fighting against the Hindu chiefs, but lacked the technique and tactics to check the Mongol hordes.¹³ 'Alā'-ud-Dīn however advocated the bolder plan of challenging the might of the Mongol hordes.¹⁴ So he placed the treasure and his harem in charge of his trusted councillor Malik 'Alā'-ul-Mulk and emerged out of the city of Sirī on to the plains

1. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*,

2. *Barnī*, p. 250.

3. *Firishta*, I, p. 102.

4. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*, pp. 23-25.

5. *Barnī*, pp. 253-254.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Barnī*, p. 254.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.* 255.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Barnī*, pp. 255-257.

14. *Ibid.* pp. 257-258.

of Kili, where a memorable battle was fought.¹ The formidable nature of the struggle may be judged from Barni's statement that such mighty hosts had never faced each other in any other period of Indian history.² Zafar Khān committed the same mistake as was committed by Rupert at the battle of Marston Moor. He fell upon one wing of the enemy, drove it pell-mell before him and chased it for several miles.³ If this wild charge which broke the ranks of the Mongols had been followed up by a vigorous pursuit by the other commandant, Ulugh Khān, a momentous victory would have been gained. But Ulugh Khān had become jealous of the military prestige of Zafar Khān and even 'Alā'-ud-Dīn was becoming afraid of his increasing popularity.⁴ Hence treachery played its part in the tragic drama. Zafar Khān did not receive any help, with the result that the Mongol commandant Targhi, perceiving that Zafar Khān was leading the attack at the head of only a few thousand horsemen, laid a successful ambush and cut to pieces Zafar and his followers.⁵ The Mongols however were considerably impressed with the valour of Zafar and before he was surrounded and put to death he was offered the option of surrender and a high rank in the Mongol armies.⁶ But Zafar Khān did not swerve from his loyalty to 'Alā'-ud-Dīn and preferred death to dishonour.⁷ His dashing bravery, wild impetuosity and steadfast loyalty made a deep impression on the Mongols and his name almost became a legend. "They must have seen Zafar Khān," the Mongols would say whenever their cattle refused to drink water.⁸

THE SIEGE OF DELHI

'ALĀ'-UD-DĪN then turned his attention to the conquest of Rathambore and Chitor.⁹ These formidable forts taxed his resources considerably. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn embarked on a vigorous policy of conquests and thus ignored the sound tradition of Balban of avoiding distant military expeditions and husbanding the economic and military resources of the empire for the formidable struggle with the Mongols. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn had soon to pay the penalty for neglecting the essential principles of Balban's frontier policy. When Targhi, the Mongol leader, was informed by his agents that the Delhi army was engaged in the siege of Chitor, while another force under Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn Juna had returned discomfited from an unsuccessful punitive expedition into Warrangal, he availed himself of this opportunity and marching at the head of twenty or thirty thousand

1. Barni, pp. 259-261.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. Barni, pp. 299-302.

9. *Ibid.*

horsemen encamped on the banks of the Ganges and laid siege to Delhi.¹ With his forces scattered far and wide and completely disorganised 'Alā'-ud-Dīn found himself in a difficult situation.² He had not the forces to challenge the Mongols in open fight, and so began the siege of Delhi which lasted for two months and which nearly led to the destruction of the Muslim empire in India.³ The Mongols were masters of the situation, they controlled all the roads and lanes that led into Delhi.⁴ Some skirmishes took place but the Mongols failed to break through the defences at Sirī which had been nastily set up by 'Alā'-ud-Dīn.⁵ However, as it was not possible to bring fuel, fodder and corn from outside, the people found themselves in the grip of famine and Barnī definitely states that if Targhī had continued the siege for another month, Delhi would have fallen.⁶ Barnī however says that the critical food situation was relieved to some extent by the fact that the Mongols sold food to the people.⁷ (What a scientific way of conducting the siege !). After a protracted siege of two months Targhī retired.⁸ Barnī considered it to be a miracle that the Mongols, who were completely masters of the environs of Delhi, should have retired without waiting for the surrender of the city.⁹ He attributed it to the prayers of pious saints.¹⁰ Probably two circumstances saved the Delhi Sultanate from destruction—(i) the protracted siege might have tired the patience of Targhī, (ii) relief parties from Multan, Dipalpur, Samana and other frontier forts might have come to the rescue of Delhi. But, whatever the reasons, Targhī's coup had been so successful that 'Alā'-ud-Dīn found himself surrounded in Delhi by the formidable Mongol armies. It gave a rude shock to 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's feelings of self-complacency ; his dreams of world conquest were shattered to pieces. He seriously turned his attention to the problem of checking the Mongol invasions. Targhī's invasion is a landmark in the history of India for it led to those far-reaching economic and administrative measures which have made 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's reign so famous.

MEASURES ADOPTED TO CHECK THE MONGOL INVASIONS

'ALĀ'-UD-DĪN made Sirī the capital of the empire.¹¹ He built a fine palace and soon Sirī developed into a flourishing city.¹² It enjoyed an eminent strategical position for the defence of the empire. A vigorous policy was pursued of repairing old forts and building new ones in places

1. *Barnī*, pp. 302-304.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Barnī*.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

likely to be threatened by the Mongol hordes.¹ The forts were garrisoned with troops under capable commandants.² They were supplied with efficient instruments of warfare (of all varieties) such as siege engines and catapults.³ Experienced mechanics and engineers were appointed for maintaining the forts in an efficient condition.⁴ The forts were well provisioned with corn and other necessities of life.⁵ Experienced soldiers were enlisted in special regiments to garrison the chief frontier forts such as Samana and Dipalpur.⁶ Maliks having wide administrative experience and enjoying military prestige were given Jāgirs in the threatened frontier area.⁷ After prolonged discussions with his ministers 'Alā'-ud-Dīn carried out comprehensive reforms for the organization of the army on a scientific basis.⁸ It was realised that the wild charge of the Mongol horse could not be checked by ill-disciplined levies of soldiers hastily raised. Hence a powerful standing army was raised which became an admirable instrument for carrying out comprehensive schemes for the conquest of different parts of India. It was a problem however to finance such a big army. It would have heavily taxed the resources of the empire. The way out of the difficulty was found by giving low salaries to soldiers but keeping them contented by providing them the necessities of life at fairly low rates.⁹ This was done by strictly enforcing the price control system. The pay of a soldier was fixed at 234 tankas a year, and a man with two horses was paid 78 tankas more.¹⁰ 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's food control measures were very comprehensive. The prices of all essential foodstuffs were fixed, such as wheat, barley, rice, sugar, salt, etc.¹¹ Grain was stored in royal granaries. Cultivators had to sell grain to licensed dealers.¹² Anti-profiteering and anti-hoarding measures were adopted.¹³ Government depots were opened and the system of rationing of foodstuffs was enforced.¹⁴ Similarly the prices of cloth were fixed.¹⁵ Cloth merchants were registered in the office of the controller of markets.¹⁶ Cloth could only be sold at Serai 'Adl.¹⁷ Government advanced a loan of 20 lakh tankas to the merchants to purchase cloth of excellent quality.¹⁸ The cattle market was also controlled.¹⁹ The prices of horses, cows, buffaloes, goats and servants were fixed.²⁰ The price control system worked efficiently, and if Barnī is to be believed the prices of commodities did not rise by even one Jital.²¹

1. Barnī.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. Barnī

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

SUCCESS OF 'ALĀ'-UD-DĪN'S POLICY

THESE economic and military measures considerably strengthened the finance and military organization of the empire. Thus 'Alā'-ud-Dīn was in a better position to face the Mongol invasions. Muslim historians are unanimous in their opinion that 'Alā'-ud-Dīn inflicted crushing defeats on the Mongols, though they differ considerably in the details of the Mongol expeditions. Barnī and his followers, notably Firishṭa and Niẓām-ud-Dīn, describe the Mongol invasions in a manner which differs considerably from the account given by Amīr Khusrau—a contemporary writer. Prof. Ḥabīb is inclined to attach great importance to the narrative of Amīr Khusrau.¹ But it is significant that Amīr Khusrau has not even mentioned the two most formidable Mongol invasions which threatened the very foundations of the Delhi Sultanate—viz., those of Targhī and Qutluḡ Khwāja. In view of the fact that Amīr Khusrau was chronicling 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's conquests he might have thought it desirable to omit those invasions which did not reflect much credit on the military policy of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn. On the other hand, Barnī's account of the Mongol invasions is so graphic and detailed that we cannot doubt the veracity of this writer. But judged by the canons of historical research we are bound to attach greater importance to the account of Amīr Khusrau—a contemporary writer. Let us explain these Mongol invasions:—

(1) In 1305 a formidable Mongol invasion took place under the leadership of 'Alī Bēg, Tartāq and Targhāi.² 'Alī Bēg was reputed to be a descendant of Chingīz.³ Skirting the mountains the Mongol army, which consisted of thirty or forty thousand soldiers, reached the territory of Amroha.⁴ 'Alā'-ud-Dīn sent Malik Nā'ik, the Akbar Bēg, at the head of a large army consisting of thirty thousand horsemen.⁵ Malik Nā'ik inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mongols.⁶ Targhāi was wounded to death by an arrow but 'Alī Bēg and Tartāq were captured alive.⁷ Twenty thousand Mongol soldiers were made prisoners of war.⁸ It was a decisive victory, for not only were the Mongol leaders captured alive but nearly two-thirds of the Mongol soldiers became prisoners of war.⁹ To commemorate this splendid victory 'Alā'-ud-Dīn held a magnificent Darbār at Chautra-i-Subḥānī.¹⁰ People came in such large numbers to witness the victory parade that the price of a cup of water rose to 20 jātals or half a tanka.¹¹ The captive Mongols were trampled under the feet of the elephants.¹²

1. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūḥ*, op. cit., footnotes, pp. 33-34.

2. *Ibid*

3. *Barnī* p. 320.

4. *Ibid*.

5. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūḥ*, pp. 26-28.

6. *Ibid*.

7. *Ibid*.

8. *Barnī*, p. 320.

9. *Barnī*, p. 320 and *Khazā'in*, pp. 26-28.

10. *Barnī*, p. 320-321.

11. *Ibid*

12. *Ibid*.

(ii) The Mongols decided to avenge this defeat. According to Amīr Khusrau a large and powerful army consisting of three contingents under Kapak, Iqbal and Tai Bu crossed the territory of Multan and began to ravage the territories of the Ravi.¹ Malik Kāfūr marched against them at the head of a large force and inflicted a crushing defeat on them.² Iqbal and Tai Bu fled away but Kapak was slain in battle.³ Barnī however mentions three different expeditions led by the Mongol commandants. He says that Kanak (or Kapak) was defeated at Khakar and taken prisoner.⁴ He was trampled under the feet of elephants along with many of his followers.⁵ A tower of their heads was raised before the Badāyūn Gate.⁶ On another occasion a large Mongol army broke into the Siwaliks and ravaged the territory.⁷ But the imperial army seized the passages of the Mongol retreat and encamped by the river side.⁸ From this strategic position the imperialists inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mongols.⁹ The third expedition was led by Iqbalmandah.¹⁰ Iqbalmandah was defeated and killed.¹¹

I am inclined to agree with the opinion of Prof. Ḥabīb that greater reliance should be placed on the account of Amīr Khusrau than on that of Barnī. It is just possible that the defeat of 'Alī Bēg and Tartaq, followed by the massacre of 20,000 prisoners of war, enraged the Mongols and they decided to advance at the head of a large army with three capable commanders commanding three contingents. It was the defeat of this powerful army which proved a decisive victory and stopped further Mongol invasions. So most probably instead of three isolated expeditions (as narrated by Barnī) a formidable Mongol invasion took place with three distinguished commanders commanding three contingents (as described by Amīr Khusrau). Khusrau's account seems more credible. Anyhow 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's policy bore fruit and the menace of the Mongol invasions was removed. Ghāzī Malik, the Warden of the Marches, proved a successful administrator and checked further punitive Mongol expeditions.¹²

DHARAM PAL.

1. *Khaṣṣā'n*, pp. 29-32.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Barnī*, pp. 321-323.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Barnī*, pp. 322-323.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

IBN KHALDŪN AND ISLAMIC MYSTICISM

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

THE author of the world-renowned *Prolegomena*¹ is still something of a psychological puzzle. The dualism in his character, the many discrepancies between his ideas and his actions, the contrast between Ibn Khaldūn as a detached observer of human affairs and as an active and often intriguing participator, between his attempts at social reform and his own transgressions of social codes, his public sense and his pronounced egotism, his scientific impartiality and his very obvious personal preferences, his wide comprehension and his personal vanity, all these incongruities in a man who is at the same time a serious scholar and a highly ambitious careerist have set his biographers to a difficult task. Most of these contradictions can, however, be ascribed to the dualistic nature of all genius, and the matter left to those psychologists who study the ways of creative talent.

But one of the most interesting and enigmatic aspects of his character, namely *his attitude towards religion and religious knowledge* has practically remained not only unnoticed but also unexplained. Most biographers have observed that religion does not seem to have influenced his philosophical and historical ideas.² Schmidt³ observes rightly that, although the *Prolegomena* are full of quotations from the Qur'an these never add to the argument, or have any vital relation to the text. They simply state that things are as they are, by the will of Allah. Often also they cut short further argumentation. Frequently, just when one expects the author to come forward with his own platitudes, he breaks off with "Only Allah knows" or an equivalent pious exclamation of conventional kind. Most biographers pass over the matter with vague and rather general remarks which are, moreover, often contradictory. Thus it has been held that Ibn Khaldūn was "a strict and devout Muslim"⁴ and also that "his religiosity was of the

1. "Muqaddamat" written as a general introduction to his "Universal History," but in fact the work on which the author's fame is based. The various editions and translations are mentioned later.

2 a. o. T. j. de Boer. *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam*, Stuttgart, 1901, p. 179.

3. Nathaniel Schmidt. *Ibn Khaldūn, Historian, Sociologist and Philosopher*, New York, 1930. One of the most recent critical studies.

4. e.g., Robert Flint: *Historical Philosophy in France, French Belgium and Switzerland*, Edinburgh and London, 1893, pp. 157-171.

conventional type "¹ meaning, no doubt, that it was merely external. In reply to the first, it cannot be claimed that a religious spirit pervades his work. As for the second remark, it is not likely that a thorough observer of humanity, living in the medieval times, with their fervour for religion would take one of the most significant phenomena of this world with an unthinking nonchalance. On the whole, however, his biographers, possibly because they consider this of no importance for an estimate of his work, have not bothered themselves much with Ibn Khaldūn's personal attitude towards religion.

On the other hand, many biographers have remarked on the general character of his outlook, which is dark and gloomy. That Ibn Khaldūn is a pessimist all agree, but to bring this pessimism into causal relation with his own view of religion seems to have occurred to no one. Ibn Khaldūn's pessimism is an accepted fact. It has been generally explained as the natural reflexion of an age of decadence, and, in fact, this "fin de siècle" depression is a phenomenon only too well known to cultured historians. In addition, however, Ferreiro² sees it rather as a sign of personal disappointments and the result of studies and researches. Maunier³ has seen in it the inevitable result of a "lack of a positive ideal," thus implying a reproach of "negativism." This is emphasised by several other biographers. Vön Kremer,⁴ drawing a parallel between Abū 'Ala' Ma'arri and Ibn Khaldūn remarks about the former: "He had long ago left the *theological* view-point of Islam, but he found no substitute which could really have satisfied him," and he obviously suggests that this is also true of Ibn Khaldūn. The affinity between him and the great poet-philosopher of "pessimism" in Islam is duly brought out by other biographers besides Vön Kremer. The latter continues by quoting a few rare verses of the poet of pessimism, which illustrate a sanguine and positive attitude, and a belief in an ascending spiritual elevation of man, transforming him into a higher being, lifting him out of the sickly cycle of growth and decay. But he fails to see similar signs in the work of Ibn Khaldūn, and comes to the conclusion that the author of the *Prolegomena* is neither "devout" nor "conventional." His attitude towards religion is negative. This, however, runs contrary to the whole spirit of the *Prolegomena*, and to Ibn Khaldūn's sociological views wherein religion performs a very constructive, and a very definite *social* function.

With all this, the problem of Ibn Khaldūn's personal attitude towards religion and religious knowledge is brought no nearer to a solution. It is true, his economic and political theories are entirely secular if not purely materialistic. There is nowhere an attempt to connect them with

1. Nathaniel Schmidt, op. cit.

2. Ferreiro: "Un sociologo arabo del secolo XIV" (*La Riforma sociale*, anno III, Vol VI, Fascio 4, 1886).

3. R. Maunier: Les idées sociologiques d'un philosophe Arabe au 14 ième siècle, article in *L'Egypte, Contemporaine*, 1917, p. 31.

4. A. von Kremer: *Ibn-Khaldun und seine Culturgeschichte der Islamischen Reiche*, Wien, 1879,

nonphysical, spiritual influences. But it does not mean that he denies the existence of these. On the contrary, there is in the first part of the Prolegomena a whole chapter, and a very long one too, exclusively devoted to such questions. It is the 6th Preliminary Discourse.¹ Its title is significant: "On the two kinds of people who have the faculty of spiritual perception—one by intuition and the other by spiritual exercises." I do not know whether any scholar has ever expressed astonishment at the occurrence of this chapter at this particular place in the Prolegomena; for, indeed, it occurs in a section which deals with Civilisation in general, the other five Discourses dealing with such things as the necessity of the societal state, geographical, climatic, and economic conditions and *their influences on man*. And in this particular context we have a whole chapter on revelation and dreams, divination and miracles, visions, magic, telepathy and clairvoyance, communication with and knowledge of the higher spiritual world, and last but not least an explanation of prophetic knowledge and the knowledge obtained by saints and mystics. It is a chapter written with obvious knowledge of these things as well as a complete faith in and acceptance of their actual happening and truth. Truly an amazing chapter in this context, and its occurrence at this particular place can only be explained as a "tacit" recognition of spiritual, and internal factors in addition to the external physical ones. But this recognition, it must be stressed, is implied, it is never explicitly stated. It can only be inferred from the position of this chapter in the book, and it is the only possible explanation for it, for normally its proper place would have been in Section VI where the various sciences are dealt with. There it reappears in another form. But about this later.

It is as though Ibn Khaldūn definitely makes up his mind to collect all the spiritual data in one chapter, and for the rest he confines himself to explain worldly happenings in worldly terms. In the first five sections (more strictly sociological sections) he does not so much as mention any metaphysical factors. He seems to avoid all deeper analysis and subtler problems. Gaston Bouthoul,² who has written one of the best studies of Ibn Khaldūn seems to have hit the nail right on the head when he observes that the spirit of the Prolegomena is one of *reserve* and that Ibn Khaldūn has a knack of constraining himself each time he touches constructive political problems. He confines himself to historical facts and events, and to human society, and since it is generally bad, and tends to become worse he does not hesitate to say so. Whether things can be otherwise does not concern him. Any consideration of amelioration or of possible progress is omitted. Every time he approaches this point, he stops short and concludes the paragraph with a classical formula of faith, or the enigmatic "Allah knows best," which may mean anything or nothing.

1. de Slane I, 196 ff., Paris Ed. I, 173 ff.

2. Gaston Bouthoul: *Ibn-Khaldun, Sa Philosophie Sociale*, Paris, 1930, pp. 55, 81.

AIM OF THIS STUDY

In the following pages, the writer proposes to answer the question : "What was Ibn Khaldūn's attitude towards religion and religious knowledge?" or "What was his substitute for theological and philosophical knowledge?" It could be answered by: "He was wholly unorthodox and unconventional, with a strong bias towards mysticism, more particularly that of the later Spanish School, especially in his riper years, and his substitute for theological and philosophical knowledge was the mystical experience and the knowledge of immediacy." The writer can succeed in convincing the reader that Ibn Khaldūn definitely had a positive, spiritual ideal, and thus he cannot be justly reproached for "negativism" and "materialism" or "scepticism," the question may be asked : why then does he not show this in his *Prolegomena* as a whole? I want to anticipate this question and suggest three reasons for this. Reasons respectively taken, from his time, his personality and his work.

(1) The times in which the author lived were not such that a man of the world, a man who loved life for its glamour and adventure, could propound his theories if these savoured of heresy. Did not al-Ghazzālī an equally comprehensive but a more courageous thinker, have to observe a certain caution in this regard? And yet Ghazzālī lived in an earlier age which still retained some of the tolerance and magnanimity of earlier classical Islam. This was not the case in Ibn Khaldūn's times in North Africa. Ghazzālī had the courage to withdraw from an honourable position, but Ibn Khaldūn had no such intention. He was not of the stuff martyrs are made of!

(2) The second reason lies in Ibn Khaldūn's conception of his task. For he did not merely *think* about human society, he tried to *do* something for it. As an active reformer he did not achieve much of a success as his experience in Cairo clearly showed but he was also a reformer by the word, or rather the pen. This aspect of his comes out strongest in the section on Sciences (we shall return to this later). From this section one can learn more about Ibn Khaldūn's own opinion on religion in general and theology, philosophy, mysticism in particular than from all the rest of the book. It is, therefore, clear that Ibn Khaldūn is of the opinion that certain things are better not talked about, that it is dangerous for public morality and the unity of Islamic civilisation to divulge certain kinds of knowledge to the masses, for they will only misunderstand and misapply. In this idea, he followed al Ghazzālī, as well as,—strange to mention in one breath,—Ibn Rushd.

The comparison with these two thinkers should not, however, be carried further. Ibn Khaldūn was neither a practical sufi like Ghazzālī nor a pure philosopher like Ibn Rushd. He avoided speculative (i.e., mainly Aristotelian) philosophy. Each time he is obliged by the context

* Noticeable in his more specifically mystical works, e.g., his "*Mishkātu'l Anwār*" .

to indulge in it, he gets hopelessly entangled, and invariably fails in reproducing an argument from *Kalam*.

(3) This brings us to the third reason, why the Prolegomena do not embody any metaphysical conception of history. Ibn Khaldūn is not a philosopher of history. I am not sure who from a long list of students of Ibn Khaldūn started this wrong notion which has subsequently been taken up by many others and which accounts for much of the disappointment felt by subsequent scholars. Ibn Khaldūn was a keen sociologist. As such he was the forerunner of Buckle, Montesquieu and even Comte. He was, maybe, also a "Kulturhistoriker" as Kremer calls him. But philosophy of history is something different. Just as Sociology is a science the object of which is man in society, the method of which is analytical and inductive, and the aim is to derive from its study general laws in order to be able to predict future happenings (this is exactly Ibn Khaldūn's aim as proposed by him in the beginning of the book),¹ so History is a science having the same aim but a different object namely the historical fact and event (this also Ibn Khaldūn proposed to do).² But a philosophy of history seeks the *formal* (in its philosophical sense) element common to all objects of history, by which they are connected and have their unity, which constitutes their origin, purpose and standard of judgment, so that by it they can be explained. Its method is synthetic, that is, from principles to consequences. Thus there can be no philosophy of history without previous conceptions about such principles as change, movement and time, quantity and quality, and being. And I need not tell the reader that they are not to be found in the Prolegomena, nor were the Prolegomena intended to do so by their author. If he had intended to write a philosophy of history, the above-mentioned "reserve" would have been impossible, for that would have been precisely his religious opinions, i.e., his theological, philosophical and mystical conceptions which would furnish the basic principles of this philosophy. If this had been beforehand realised some scholars could have saved themselves the trouble and disappointment for in that case they would not have tried to find things which could not possibly be there. Ibn Khaldūn cannot be blamed for stating as the result of his observation of things in this world; that there is nothing permanent on this earth. That the rise and fall of political states and civilisations succeed each other as inevitably and naturally as there is growth and decay in all nature. Whether there is growth or not all the same a "progress" or a "degradation" cannot be determined without a conception of the final cause of things and this belongs to the domain of the Philosophy of Becoming, and falls outside the sociological field. And thus we do not see whether there is also another side to Ibn Khaldūn's pessimism apart from the natural result of factual observation at the time of decline. A side namely which

1 Paris, Ed. I, 61/2; de Slane, I, 77.

2. Paris, Ed. I, 61; de Slane, I 77.

on principle, embraces the belief that there is nothing really good on this earth, that all acts lead ultimately to evil, that on the worldly level there is no improvement, only a gradual corruption, or at best a never-lasting repetition, that the only solution is to be found on a super-worldly level, in man's liberation from the sickly cycles by a spiritual ascent to the One, or a return to the Cause.

In connection with Ibn Khaldūn's pessimistic view of history as ever-recurring cycles, von Kremer¹ refers to the sufis and to the similarity of their ideas with Ibn Khaldūn's ideas already much earlier upheld and propounded by the mystical thinkers of the Orient and generally summarised in the epitome: "a return to the beginning" (*al-ma'āda ila'l mabda*). Ibn Šab'in (Spanish Mystic-Philosopher, 1126-1198) had also held the same view. But since this return offered by the Mystics brings us on purely spiritual *terrain*, and since Ibn Khaldūn, for reasons given above, strictly limits himself to the political and social development of man, it is not surprising that the author never tells us in so many words about his views on the matter.

But it is not possible to write a work of the scope and size of the Prolegomena without that even the most detached and impersonal writer must necessarily betray himself. But before we turn our attention to these "self-betrays," we must summarise the above. Ibn Khaldūn's personal religiousness, his own intimate philosophy of Life and the Divine, need have no connection with the aim of the work; he has on purpose cut off this connection. And therefore, whether Ibn Khaldūn is a mystic or an atheist, a sceptic or a simple orthodox Muslim, his personal belief or unbelief does not stand or fall with the fact that his sociological observations are limited to political and social circumstances which are viewed with the impartiality and the objectivity of a scientist.

GENERAL VIEW ON SECTION VI: ON THE ISLAMIC SCIENCES

THE most direct information about Ibn Khaldūn's attitude towards Mysticism should, no doubt, be obtainable from the chapter on the science of Mysticism contained in Section VI of the Prolegomena. A few words of introduction to this section for those who are not acquainted with Ibn Khaldūn's work. It describes one after another all the sciences practised in the Islamic civilisation. It is the more directly *cultural* part of the Prolegomena. It begins with the traditional sciences and ends with the sciences dealing with the Arabic language, after which follow the arts of Literature and Poetry.² In between, and in what seems at first sight a strange and incomprehensible sequence, the author gives an

1. *op. cit.* p. 30/1.

2. No word is said about architecture. Was it not recognised as an art.

account of such sciences as Mathematics, Geometry, Logic, Physics, Medicine and Agriculture. Then follow Metaphysics, Magic, the Esoteric Science of Numbers, Alchemy, Philosophy, Astrology, etc. (It is interesting to note that Metaphysics and Philosophy are classified amongst what we would call at present "occult" sciences! Also that the author, while strongly disapproving of Metaphysics, Philosophy, Alchemy and Astrology, has no objections whatever to—on the contrary has complete faith in—Magic and the Science of Numbers). Each chapter gives with more or less completeness a description of the origin, aim and development of every science. But besides a factual and impersonal history of each science we hear the author's personal opinion and judgment, sometimes expressed in strongest language, about its validity and utility, the benefits derived from it in the past and the possibilities to be expected from it in the future. In this section the author is concerned with the social well-being of Islam, its cultural and intellectual soundness, its moral hygiene. It gives scope to Ibn Khaldūn as reformer. Note the inclusion of a study on the art and practice of teaching. Due emphasis is laid on the necessity of interior coherence of the Islamic community and the readers are advised about the right books to read as well as about the right spirit in which to read them.

Let us now look a little closer at the particular chapter devoted to the "science" of mysticism. Ibn Khaldūn insists on mysticism being a science.

What strikes us immediately is its length. And it is not only the longest but also undoubtedly the best written of all the chapters on the various sciences. There are only two chapters which come near it in length, those on Fiqh and Kalām. Compared with these two we find that the study on Mysticism is written with less scientific detachment than the one on Fiqh and that it is much less fragmentary and confused than the chapter on Kalam.

Of course, we are not concerned here with the relative merits of these chapters as such, or their value as sources for our knowledge of these sciences. On Mysticism we are sufficiently informed by a number of treatises and historical reviews written by the leading Mystics themselves, and Ibn Khaldūn does not give us much that can be called new or unknown, except that he conveys a good impression of the general importance and popularity of Mysticism in his times. The science of Canonical Law (Fiqh) also has been given constant and official attention throughout the ages and we are informed about its development by a practically uninterrupted chain of authorities. Therefore, we do not recognise Ibn Khaldūn, however accomplished an expert on legal matters he may be, as an authority on this subject. Contrary to this, our knowledge of the Mu'tazilite movement and the atomistic philosophy in Islam is still very deficient. Many of the sources have been destroyed or have failed to reach us through other reasons. Thus the chapter on Kalām has received a certain amount of attention far greater than its merits would

justify, solely owing to the paucity of material.¹ Only the second half, however, has any historical value but its redaction is hasty, its composition sketchy. The first half however is not a description of *Kalām* at all, but a warning against it, and for this reason precisely falls within the field of our present enquiry. For, the arguments used to reject the endeavour of *Kalam* are the arguments of Mysticism, and the terms used to show the futility of *Kalām* theology are the terms of the Mystics. See how Ibn Khaldūn defines for instance, *tawhīd*, and see the answer he gives to the question of what is true Faith. In order to explain this he has to draw on the Discipline of the *hāl* and *maqām* (the mystical states and stations). Whereas *Kalām*, according to Ibn Khaldūn had fulfilled its task and had actually outlived its purpose which had been strictly conditioned by temporary circumstances. Mysticism seemed to our author to have still a great future before it.

The chapter on Mysticism bears out the obvious sincerity of the author's intentions and the urgency of his appeal. The reader cannot fail to notice the entirely different tone of this chapter, the infinite care with which Ibn Khaldūn sets about his task, to describe its *traditional* origin, to explain its psychological implications, to set forth its ethical value. And although he does not fail to warn against its dangers, he is on the whole rather out to plead its cause, and to build up its defence. He seems to be personally interested in the matter. And this personal interest seems to have continued and even increased in the later years of his life, if we may believe the testimony of the considerable portions added to it by the author himself at a later date. But about these additions later.

It is this personal interest in Mysticism, corroborated by evidence throughout the Prolegomena that ought to put those on their guard who have proclaimed Ibn Khaldūn's "matter-of-factness," "cold detachment," "positivism" or "scepticism" or the like. Of course, part of Ibn Khaldūn's interest in Mysticism can be explained in the same way as his "pessimism." For this also is a "fin de siècle" phenomenon. A heightened interest in, a somewhat unhealthy curiosity for the unexplainable, the mysterious is the normal atmosphere of a declining culture.² This somewhat morbid searching of the queer, the exotic, this childish prying into the surrealistic—the author is not at all above this.

But there is also a more serious side to Ibn Khaldūn's preoccupation with Mysticism. He believes that the true road towards improvement of man is the Path of the Mystic, that the mystical experience can reveal and make certain what no Metaphysics prove; and that when they try to prove it they lead astray. Thus, *as an intellectual*, (I would nearly say) for I do not think that he talks from actual, personal experience, he acknowledges that only Mysticism can afford a way out between the

1. The second half has, for instance, been quoted in full in MacDonald's article on "*Kalām*" in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*

2. Compare the similar phenomena in 20th c Europe and America.

eternal dilemma of rational as against revealed knowledge, and he recognizes the essence, the truth and the value of the mystical experience. Thus he actually tends to transcend Revelation and revealed knowledge, but he never denies it. On the contrary, in his support of the clear and self-evident word of the Qur'an, the Mission of the Prophet, and the conduct of the Patriarchs, in his continuous exhortations to believe without questioning and speculation he is as orthodox as the most orthodox can be. The Ash'arite *Bilā Kayfa* is insisted upon throughout. In this Ibn Khaldūn shows again that orthodoxy is not always a sign of weakness, it is sometimes a sign of wisdom: a sign for all those who cannot attain to certainty by direct personal experience, as well as for those who can and want to remain within the bounds of Islam, and within its social/moral code in word and deed.

Moreover, Ibn Khaldūn as a reformer, recognizes the tremendous moral and social significance of a Mystical, i.e., a more interior conception of religion, and that this is the only way in which Islam could regain its spiritual and moral values which once were at the root of its greatness and strength, and from which in the author's time very little was left in the West. At the same time he realises that Mysticism itself, in his time, had largely gone astray, that it had overshot the target, and thus from a potentially constructive it had become an actually destructive force. For he has an open eye for its dangers, and like anyone who believes that a certain amount of uniformity, authority and obedience is necessary to maintain a religious/cultural edifice in its inner and outer strength, he clearly shows that he knows that any immoderate and undisciplined form of Mysticism always tends to have a "loosening" effect on any tight theological/ societal configuration.

In consequence of all this, a peculiar tension is noticeable in the text wherever in the Prolegomena a theme connected with one or other of the questions dealing with Mysticism appears. There is the Ibn Khaldūn who is dying to tell the reader all about the queer and wonderful things he has read and thought about, and there is the Ibn Khaldūn who is aware of the fact that certain things are better not published for every student to read. On the one hand he wants to exhort his readers and urge them to an acceptance of the mystical attitude towards religion, on the other hand he must warn them against excesses. This same tension we find, of course, in a heightened form in the actual chapter dealing with Mysticism.

The obvious way out would, of course, have been to treat Mysticism only in its ethical, devotional form, as Ghazzālī did in his *Iḥyā'*, but this he apparently could not do partly for the sake of scientific completeness, and partly because he himself went much farther in his own acceptance.

Thus, in the chapter on Mysticism, we get again the same situation as in other places in the Prolegomena: the author never explicitly and positively states his adherence to and belief in Islamic mysticism, he does not break away from his usual practice of reserve and caution, quoting

the various schools of thought generally through the mouths of their recognized exponents, giving his own opinion with the ambiguous *Rubbamā* (so characteristic of Ibn Khaldūn that it is astonishing that none of his biographers has ever remarked on it before). And yet far clearer than anywhere else appears the real Ibn Khaldūn who dares to take the Mystics under his protection against theological Islam, and challenges the verdict inflicted upon them by the Canonists, and offers his own criteria according to which they should be judged.¹

1. Here a few words must be said about the deplorable condition in which Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena* is presented to the general public

THE TWO MAIN EDITIONS

The two main editions of Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena** are the "*Paris-Edition*," edited by Quatremere in 1858 (Vols XVI, XVII and XVIII of the "*Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale et autres bibliothèques*") and the "*Bulaq-Edition*" printed in 1868, a copy† from the edition published in 1857/8 under the supervision of the Muslim Scholar Naṣr al-Huraynī.

Of these the *Paris-Edition* is mainly based on a MS sent from Constantinople, (catalogue number 742a, see de Slane CV/CVI) occasionally collated with three other MSS. B, C and D (C and D are the Catalogue numbers 742a and 742b, whereas B was in the possession of the editor himself). From de Slane's remarks (see CV/CVI) it appears that this edition, although undoubtedly the one most used by scholars, cannot strictly speaking be called critical or final. Many a time, de Slane, in his translation finds himself obliged to bring about corrections.

The Bulaq edition of Naṣr-al-Huraynī of which this is a copy. He had apparently two MSS at his disposal (see CVII/CX), one from Tunis and the other from Fez. The Tunis MS is according to the editor himself apparently less detailed than the Fez MS. Both MS. it must be stressed, are different from the one used by Quatremere. This Bulaq edition has not been studied by me but according to Enan it is "one of the most complete and best revised copies of his work." De Slane, however, observes o.a. "Je ne pense pas que Naṣr al-Huraynī les ait suivis exactement; on peut remarquer dans son édition des leçons évidemment inexactes et d'autres qu'aucun des Manuscrits de Paris justifient. Only voit aussi plusieurs passages qui, ayant été composés par l'auteur d'une manière incorrecte et obscure, ont été redressés ou modifiés, afin d'être rendus plus intelligibles. Ces changements, à mon avis, ne sont pas toujours heureux quelquefois même ils altèrent la pensée d'Ibn Khaldūn." etc.

The conclusion seems evident the two main scholarly editions are obtained from different MSS. showing considerable variations of text, with the result that neither of the two can be called final. Nowhere has the present writer seen indications that the two main MSS. underlying these editions, that of Constantinople and of Fez, have been critically compared and weighed on their relative merits. The Western scholars appear generally to work with the Paris edition, the Eastern scholars seem frequently to quote from the Bulaq edition. To pronounce a judgment as to which of the two is better, cannot be expected from the writer. Enan asserts decisively that "the Bulaq copy is, therefore, one of the most complete of the known copies of Ibn Khaldūn's work in spite of its many typographical errors and gaps." As to this completeness, I can only, from the portions I know better, point to a long passage (in Paris Edition pp 74/7, de Slane III, 106/110) on Harawī's verses about *tawhīd* which have been omitted by the Bulaq edition, although it does not constitute a "marginal addition" (see later). One example must here suffice.

* We are, in the following, talking of the *Prolegomena* only.

† Muḥammad Abdullah Enan: *Ibn-Khaldūn, His Life and Work*, Lahore 1941 p 206 "The *Prolegomena* was copied from the Edition of 1284 A.H. (1867)."

‡ All this information is taken from the French translation by de Slane, the Roman letters refer to pages of the translator's introduction. May it be remarked here that even de Slane's translation is extremely rare in India.

But before we go into details, it should be mentioned that the *marginal additions as noted in the footnotes below are particularly numerous and extensive precisely in those chapters of the Prolegomena which deal with the theory of knowledge in general and mystical knowledge in particular.*

(Continued)

Dr Shams ul Ulema U. M. Daudpota, Director of Public Instruction in Sind, who is preparing an English translation of the Prolegomena which, in due course, will be published by the I.R.A. in Bombay kindly informed me that he used the Paris Edition "of course" A scholar of the calibre of Dr Daudpota must be supposed to know what he is doing when he undertakes this colossal task.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that, up to the present day the world is still sadly lacking a really representative edition of a work of such world importance as Ibn Khaldun's *Prolegomena*, a work which is known in widest international circles, and from which modern scholars and experts are quoting more and more often in connection with a great variety of subjects

THE TRANSLATION

There is a Turkish translation, dated 1732, by Maula Muhammad Sahib, generally known as Piri-Zadah Effendi. This translation covers the first five sections. The writer of this essay has no knowledge of Turkish, but de Slane finds this translation "very exact" although it must be regretted that "it resembles all Turkish translations from the Arabic," in so far as "they preserve nearly always the terms of the original text without attempting to find their equivalents" (de Slane CXVIII/CXIV). In 1860 Djavad Effendi completed Piri-Zadah's work by offering his translation of Section VI. This translation is very much praised by de Slane, and considered by him as extremely useful owing to the very numerous and extended annotations (de Slane CXV).

But most Western as well as Eastern scholars do not know Turkish, and although many chapters and passages have been translated and published in various journals, in widely known languages, de Slane's French translation remains the most widely read and quoted from. The writer has studied this translation generally and several parts in great detail, and with all due respect for his achievement and all due understanding for the difficulties in this colossal and in a sense pioneer work, she must assert that it does not satisfy any more the present day requirements. Since its publication more than a century ago, enormous progress has been made in Islamics, and a better understanding of the subtleties of the Arabic language combined with a more comprehensive knowledge of the subject-matter has lent relief to the rather flat translation and has helped to avoid many small and large mistakes

There is an Urdu translation, I believe of recent date (the copy I saw was, as usual, undated) by Maulvi 'Abdur-Rahman, in 3 volumes. Two of these are published by the Rafah-i-'Am Press, Lahore and one by the Co-operative Steam Press, Lahore Its price is Rs. 1. As far as I have been able to see it is mainly based on the popular editions about which we shall have to speak now.

THE POPULAR EDITIONS

Since the two earlier editions have become extremely rare we have had several new editions which have successively filled the gap and supplied the need for a cheap publication widely available One of them is of Beirut published in 1879 and a few others successively published in Cairo (generally undated). The present writer has only one Cairo edition in her possession, published by the Maktaba at Tijariyya al Kubra. She has however collated the first 12 chapters of Section VI of this edition with that of Beirut and has come to the conclusion that it is probably correct to say that the Cairo edition is more or less an exact copy of the Beirut edition. About this edition, Prof. D. B. MacDonald writes :*

*. Duncan Black MacDonald : *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago, 1909 Introduction.

and thus many of my arguments will issue from such marginal additions, although by far not all, and although even without these, sufficient material would be available to support our claim of Ibn Khaldūn's strong inclination towards and impregnation with mystical ideas, an inclination which must have increased in later years. And this increased interest in later years appears from these additions which show an enlarged knowledge of the intricacies of speculative mysticism and a more definite shaping of the author's opinions on the subject.

(Continued)

"That of Beirut has considerable omissions, intentional and accidental, and some amazing blunders. As it is the most accessible and seemingly usable text, it may be worth while to say, that neither as regards its consonants, nor its vowels can it be trusted." A similar verdict must be pronounced on the Cairo editions.

In order to give the readers a clear idea of the really most regrettable condition of these popular editions, I shall give here a few examples, all taken from the Cairo edition. We shall confine ourselves to one chapter only, namely that under review, which may have suffered slightly more than the others from careless and arbitrary treatment by editors and printers alike. First of all there are numerous mistakes which must fall to the *debit* of the printers, and which range from the omission of a single word to that of a whole sentence. As a glaring example of the latter, a passage on p. 472 * can be cited whereof two complementary sentences, the second half has been entirely left out due to the unhappy coincidence that both sentences ended with a similar word. Owing to this omission the whole paragraph is totally unintelligible. Another example of the same kind of carelessness is furnished by the omission of two sentences on p. 469 11 in a passage describing some Sufi writers and their work. Here again two neighbouring sentences open with a similar expression which caused the printers simply to skip the first sentence. The result is that when Ibn Khaldūn says "*Jama'a Bayna'l Amrayn*" there are no such two kinds of questions in the text!

These are just instances of nonchalance. But there are also several instances of intentional omissions and alterations by the editors. [A very typical example of this tendency is the omission of "and the Christians" (*Wa'n-nasr*) in a passage, (70 1. 16) where the author intends to give an example of falsely based mystical experience "such as that of the Magians and the Christians".

Other suppressions of the same kind, but now obviously coming from another direction, are those on p. 470 1. 25, p. 471, † 1. 16, p. 473 1. 12 and p. 473 1. 19‡. There seems nothing in the Paris edition nor in the two famous translations, (the Turkish and the French) which would justify these omissions on technical scientific grounds, nor is any explanation or even mention of them to be found in the two popular editions. Until they are explained, these omissions cannot but cast considerable suspicion on the intentions of the learned editors.

These then are hard facts, taken from one single chapter, which in the edition under review do not occupy more than eight pages. A careful study of several more chapters of *Section VI* does not present us with a more enjoyable picture.

It is then in this mutilated and stunted form that one of Islam's greatest and most original thinkers, a thinker moreover who has the widest international importance, is presented to our students!

* The pages refer to the Cairo edition mentioned.

† In the case of this omission there may be a justification in a certain choice offered by the Paris Edition, in which the same sentence is repeated in a simpler form according to de Slane (III, p. 98, Note 3) due to the inattention of the copyist.

‡ In de Slane's translation these are III, 98 l. 9-10 100; 11-13, 104 l. 19-21, 105 l. 12-15.

These marginal additions occurring in MSS. A and B, taken over by the Turkish as well as the French translations, are contained in

- (1) The chapter on Mysticism of Section VI.
- (2) The 6th Preliminary Discourse (already commented upon above).
- (3) The general introduction to the whole of Section VI.

We shall first look at (3), which will lead us to (2), after which we shall give a summary of the significant content of (1) and its additions.

(Concluded)

THE MARGINAL ADDITIONS

With particular reference to our subject, another question must here be treated briefly and that is question of the "marginal additions." These are to be found in certain chapters, and specially the chapter on Mysticism is richly furnished with them. They occur in the two most important MSS. used by Quatremere (MSS. A the Constantinople MSS. and MSS. B), they have been reproduced in the Paris Edition, they have been accepted by the Turkish translator of the Section on the Islamic sciences, Dhevdet Effendi, the learned Historiographer of the Ottoman Empire of whose erudite achievement de Slane is full of praise, and last but not least they have been fully reproduced in the French translation. And yet, no trace of them can be found in the other editions. The arguments which made the learned editors in Cairo and Beirut to omit these additions are unknown to me. The explanation may be in the fact that they do not occur in the Fez MS.* on which these additions are ultimately based, and that the original editor Nasr al Hurayni, had probably no opportunity of consulting Quatremere's MSS. A and B, and so the existence of these additions may have remained unnoticed. On the other hand, by the time the first popular edition, that of Beirut, appeared, more than 20 years had elapsed since the Paris edition had been published and it must be supposed that in the meantime the popular editors had had an opportunity for comparison.

About the authenticity of these "marginal additions" de Slane writes (see CX) "The authenticity of these additions seems to me beyond doubt; Ibn Khaldūn's style can be recognized, his rather incorrect phrasings as well as references to other chapters of the *Prolegomena*. The author probably inserted them in his work after the year 796 A.H. . . . etc."

Judging from the contents only, the present writer would be inclined to agree with de Slane. These additions are not mere improvements of the text such as might be done by copyists. They do not look like comments or notes inserted by a reader. They are "additions" in the exact sense of the word, often introducing a new idea, or elaborations with entirely new arguments. They bear the unmistakable stamp of Ibn Khaldūn's peculiar style and grammar, they use the same terminology and similarly inexactly at times. The references to the other chapters are often in the first person. *Kama Bayyanahu* (as we have explained) or *Kama Qaddamnāhu* (as we have advanced before), etc.

The history of the MSS. is not quite known, but enough for our purposes can be concluded from their form. The Fez MS. bears a dedication to a Merinide Sultan and we know that Ibn Khaldūn presented it to him while the latter was still ruling, i.e., in the years 796-799 A.H. Two other MSS. bear dedications and were offered by the author to two other rulers, namely, the Tunis MS. and MSS. C MS. A and B, however, have no such dedications. It might, therefore, be supposed that Ibn Khaldūn kept these for his own use, and it is exactly these two MSS. which contain the marginal additions! The fact that they are not contained in all MSS. is no proof against their authenticity. One cannot suppose that an author in Ibn Khaldūn's time would run after all the MSS. he had given to different rulers in different localities to bring about additions each time he had a new idea, or developed an old one! Moreover, in view of the special nature of most of these additions, it might have been unwise to do so, considering the prevailing trends in official Islam.

* More than one copy of this Fez MS. seems extant. See M.A. Enan, op. cit.

THE NEW INTRODUCTION TO SECTION VI : RELIGION IS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

INSTEAD of the original short introduction to Section VI which according to de Slane, "evidently belonged to an earlier redaction," an entirely new introduction was supplied, which consists of six new chapters. These contain a brief, and for Ibn Khaldūn, rather complete little *epistemology* and may be considered as Ibn Khaldūn's own and final synthesis on various hotly-discussed questions in connection with the human capacities and aims of knowledge. A comparison between the old and the new introductions is interesting, not because the author shows himself in any way an *original* thinker in these fields but because they throw light on his development.

In the original introduction the author gives,—since he is going to talk on human sciences and he feels the necessity of saying a few words on that specifically human faculty which gives rise to all his knowledge and science,—only a few commonplace and rather superficial remarks on the "exclusively human faculty" which he calls *fikr* (reflection). One would have expected 'aql (intelligence). But it is possible that he chose, from all the available cognitional terms, precisely *fikr* because it is the vaguest and most general term, to which adhere none of the associations and colorations which the term 'aql could conjure up. It is, he says, this *fikr* (reflection) by which man acquires the knowledge necessary for his relations with his fellow-beings and his life on this earth, and it is this same reflection which leads man to accept the knowledge imparted by the prophets as a guide in his relations with God and for his attaining salvation in the Life Hereafter.

In the later inserted six Introductory Chapters, he enters deeper into this problem of human knowledge. *Fikr* (reflection) is still the main term, but it is a considerably enlarged reflection; where before it was a capacity strictly limited to vital and social ends, and in addition conduced man to acceptance of prophetic knowledge (N.B. does not *in itself* lead to a higher knowledge), now it goes far beyond that. It seems to spread out so widely and to cover so much ground that it is hardly possible to catch it under one notion. Ibn Khaldūn himself asserts expressly, in a rather transparent effort to attach his notion directly to the Qur'anic text, that his new reflection is exactly what Qur'an, XVI, 80 calls *af'ida* (plur. of *fu'ad*, heart), a personal interpretation reminiscent of similar efforts by mystics and mystical sects to bend the simple words of the Qur'an to suit a particular purpose. Actually the word *qalb* has been more often used, specially by the devotional mystics, to express the point of contact between the higher and lower world.

There are then, according to Ibn Khaldūn, three kinds or degrees of thought (*fikr*). There is that degree which a child attains when it has come to the age of discretion. This is the '*aql tamiyīzī*', "discriminating reason." Subsequently there is the degree which is in the service of man

as a member of human society. It is the '*aql tajrībī* "experimental reason." It is Aristotle's "practical reason," Descartes' "reason : " "a tool to make tools." It is acquired inductively and experimentally. Finally, there is a third degree which can be called "pure reason," reason not for the sake of action but for the sake of a pure knowledge, and intelligibility, by which man can become a Pure Intellect and a Spiritual Perception. (Ibn Khaldūn's term : '*aql nazārī*—contemplative intellect). It is thus that man fulfils his real nature and attains the essential reality: man. Those familiar with mystical speculations will recognize the terms: *kamāl*, *haqiqa*, *haqiqat-i insaniyya*, '*aql maḥd*, etc. Thus Ibn Khaldūn's *fikr* finally approaches a sort of combination of the Intellect ('*aql*) of the neoplatonic philosophers, and the Spirit (*rūḥ*) of the later Mystics (also, e.g., the Ghazzālī of the *Mishkāṭu'l Anwār*). Ibn Khaldūn's *fikr* becomes the mystical "speculation," "contemplation," etc.

Now if we look where religion is placed in all this, we find it in chapter III, under the heading "practical reason." Religion and religious knowledge is considered exclusively in its social task and functions. Here we have the epistemological expression of what he elsewhere clothes in sociological terms: religion is for him a societal/civilisational institution. He puts "religion" and "nation" on the same plane when he says, e.g., (Paris Edition, II, 172, de Slane, II, 199) that any attempt to found a religion or a state can only succeed when it is carried and defended by a community and its power. The natural course of historical events has proved this beyond doubt, he adds. In other words, a religion does not arise and survive because of its own inherent (metaphysical) truth, but because of its (social) adequateness to meet the needs of a society of men. Here religion is completely denied any higher supernatural status, it is no more than "the greatest common denominator," and it is most fit to survive (excuse this expression) when it has the broadest possible base in society, and is supported by the greatest number of people and expresses and solves their ideas and problems. Therefore, Ibn Khaldūn warns his reader that he had better accept "the traditionally transmitted (religious) knowledge embodied in Islam, for otherwise it is impossible to live in society with his fellow-beings as his social conduct will be deficient." The fundamental tenets of Islam, as well as all Islamic institutions are true, he says, "for they have been arrived at after successive experiences which have finally proved their workability," (Chapt. I of the Introduction). Verily, an extremely "modern" conception.

Only posterior to these two degrees of thought, could the third degree have been developed, but, says Ibn Khaldūn, "this needs no explanation in this book, for this is a subject which belongs to the field of the *Ahl Nazārī*. (Even here our author maintains his "reserve"). That these *Ahl Nazārī* are the *Falāsifa*, as de Slane has understood it, is doubtful in view of the author's complete rejection of them and the approving terms in which he expresses this kind of knowledge. Obviously

these are the sufis, but no further indications are given which particular school of Sufism is meant.

However, we hear more about this highest degree of *fikr* in Chapters IV and V where respectively human/angelic and prophetic knowledge is dealt with. It deals with rather concisely for the whole theme had already been developed at greater length in the 6th Preliminary Discourse to which the reader is then also requested to go for further information.

THE SIXTH PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE : *Human/Angelic versus Prophetic Knowledge*

After we have heard his opinion on revealed religion, we shall now try and search for his views as to the nature of and relationship between human/angelic and prophetic knowledge. A comparison between the treatment of this subject in the two essays (Chapters IV and V of the new introduction to the section on Sciences and the 6th Preliminary Discourse in vol. I) is interesting.

Now the present writer has read and reread the relevant passages, she had looked up what scholars have said about it,¹ and finds herself unable to state Ibn Khaldūn's views as to what exactly is the difference in these two kinds of knowledge. And yet, the author is quite capable of explaining the difference between the knowledge of the Prophet and that of the Divine (*kāhin*), which is precisely formulated and clear ; it is a difference in the *manner* in which the knowledge is obtained as well as in the *kind* of knowledge. In fact, the knowledge of the Prophet and that of the Divine are totally different. There is no doubt about that. He has manifest difficulties in establishing the difference between the Prophet Muḥammad and other Prophets, and on the whole avoids the issue. Similarly, he does not attempt to analyse the difference between prophetic and mystical knowledge. Nowhere the two kinds of knowledge are confronted. The prophetic revelation is treated as a subject by itself : five exterior signs of manifest prophethood (beginning of the Discourse). Later on the accompanying circumstances of Prophecy are described. No psychological explanation is afforded, and, in fact, (in the Chapter on the Mutashābaha) he blames Ibn Sīnā for his psychological analysis of prophetic knowledge, which is the same as that previously given by Ibn Miskawayh² and which explains the prophetic *wahy* as a reversal of the normal cognitive process. That the writer maintains a difference in *degree* is clear (Paris ed., I, 176 1. 18-178 1.19 ; de Sl. I, 200-203), and maybe he also wants to assert an entirely different field of knowledge,

1. e.g., Alfred Guillaume in his excellent book *Prophecy and Divination*, the Bampton Lectures, 1938, London Specially Lect. V, pp. 197/213.

2. Al Fawzu'l Asghar.

but this is difficult to ascertain. More stress is laid on the *accompanying circumstances* peculiar to prophethood, namely private-personal and social-public. Amongst the former he mentions the Prophet's pained behaviour and his violent physical reactions at the moment of the revelation. As to the latter, the author mentions the *tahaddi* (the preceding public announcement). This is the final and ultimate test by which a miracle worked by the Prophet (*mu'jiza*) can be distinguished from a miracle performed by the Saint (*karāma*); it is the most important point advanced by the orthodox theologians (the Mutakallimūn) to maintain the exclusive position of the Prophet. In his explanation of the *tahaddi* Ibn Khaldūn gets completely muddled (Paris ed., I, 169; de Sl., I, 190). He either has not understood the point as Massignon suggests or, which is probably more likely, it seemed rather unconvincing and artificial to him, and, since he cannot omit to mention it, he passes it off rather unthinkingly. For it is amazing how carefully his working can be if he has his heart in a matter.

Concluding then, I would say, that as to the point at issue the Discourse under review is highly unsatisfactory, the essential characteristics of the Prophet Muḥammad are all of an external nature, the distinguishing features so painstakingly developed by official Islamic Theology are badly or even incorrectly presented, the essential points either missed or mechanically reproduced. Frankly speaking, I find it rather disappointing that a great and realistic thinker like Ibn Khaldūn did not attain to the recognition that the ultimate proof of Muḥammad's prophethood is his own life and the Qur'an itself, which is the only unassailable position taken up, in fact, by the later Mutakallimūn (and which is comparable to a similar development in Christian Apologetics)¹ if, at least, he really was convinced himself of Muḥammad's exclusive and final prophethood.

This last cannot be concluded with certainty. That he sets out with the intention of establishing Muhammad's position beyond comparison or approach seems definite. That he does no more than reproduce the official and rather far-fetched arguments of early *kalām* is clear to everyone who reads this Discourse. The closest he gets to is a description of the two kinds of knowledge where he talks about the three classes of human beings, those who are too weak to come to spiritual perception and those whom he calls *Walī*² (God-favoured Saint) in whom God has infused knowledge (*al-ilmu'l-ladūnniyya*) and understanding of Divine things (*al-ma'arif'ul-rabbāniyya*), and, he adds, they, enjoy something which normally is only afforded after death by those predestined for eternal happiness. (This sounds a little like the

1. We must note, for our Christian readers, that even a thinker like Pascal (born 1623) uses the Gospel miracles as the main proof for the truth of Christianity.

2. Ibn Khaldūn makes apparently a distinction between the *walī* (od-favoured One, Saint) and the *ṣufī* (mystic). The former is mentioned as occupying the second degree, in between normal humanity and the prophets, the latter is relegated to the diviners, yogis and other persons to whose mantric qualities and mental exercises Ibn Khaldūn ascribes their achievements, although he recognizes that the exercises of the *ṣufīs* are purely religious and are directed towards God.

"Beatific Vision" but it is very vaguely said). To the Prophet, however, Ibn Khaldūn ascribes the "inborn faculty of being able to strip of human nature for one instant of time." It seems difficult to draw any conclusions about the two kinds of knowledge from these short sentences, but there seems to be a difference in degree, which is corroborated by the fact that seems to serve, as an explanation for *both* these kinds of knowledge, a long preceding passage in which the author explains his conception of *ittiṣāl*. With this word, reminiscent of the neoplatonic philosophers, like Ibn Sīnā, he means the natural continuity or contiguousness between the material/visible and the spiritual/invisible worlds, as well as between the various orders of being within each of these worlds. At the same time it implies the natural capacity of each being within a certain order to ascend to the next higher one. It is needless to say that with the adoption of this notion of continuity, Ibn Khaldūn is far removed from any theologian of the Kalām-type, and has definitely entered upon the road to neoplatonism in Islam after Ibn Sīnā. For this notion of continuity is at the root of all Monism: the difference between God and man here is no more the *Mukhālafa*, the total and absolute difference—*sine qua non* of all Monotheism,—but a difference of degree.

BACK TO THE NEW INTRODUCTION TO SECTION VI : FINAL STATEMENT ON PROPHETIC KNOWLEDGE

THIS notion of *ittiṣāl* we find again in the New Introduction and judging from the relatively large space given to it, it seems to have grown into the dominant idea of Ibn Khaldūn's Cosmology. We also find back all the other arguments, with the same technical terms and the same faulty or incorrect phrasing, only here more constricted and to the point. Here we have the same attempt to indicate a distinction between the Prophet and the gnostic, already apparent in the separation of the chapters under different headings. But we also have the same, even more so, inability to express the difference. If one looks at the actual content of the two chapters, one on human/angelic, the other on prophetic knowledge, one sees that the actual content flows together.

Here we have no more mention of either *walī* or *sūfī*, but the whole emphasis is now laid on the fact that *all* men have a potential preparedness (*isti'dād*) to attain to the angelic world, and this is due to the *ittiṣāl* existing in the Universe. But the difference is that whereas with normal man this is only a potentiality to be actualised at will with the help of a spiritual discipline, with the Prophet this is already an actuality from the moment of his birth, for it is his natural constitution (*jibilla*), God-instilled (*faṭara*) at birth. And if this were not yet clear enough he ends with a quotation, which is of extreme interest in this connection. He quotes Qur'an, XVI, 6: "Say (unto them O Muḥammad): I am only a mortal like you".....

This is the natural outcome of tendencies already manifest in the Discourse, and here too strong to be suppressed any longer in the privacy of his own marginal additions. In the interval between the two essays, he seems to have studied much more of the later neoplatonic and mystical philosophers. The short chapters are stuffed with their terminology. Let us select, e.g., his definition of Angels (*malā'ika*): "They are abstract substances, stripped of corporeality and materiality; they are pure Intellect, in which *Intellect*, *Intelligence* and *Intelligibility* are united. Perception and Intellect are, as it were, the very essence of their reality, and as a natural consequence the data of their knowing are permanently given (or given in actuality) and completely identical with their 'known.' His inclusion of perception shows the beginning of the process of "disintellectualisation of the Intellect," common to all the later speculative mystics, and we can see this also in the great stress on the notion of *wijdān* (inner experience, self-awareness) and the *wijdāniyyāt* (the organs of this inner perception).

And after we have read all this, and just when we are ready with our conclusion, that, in spite of all the author's efforts to the contrary, there is sufficient evidence to show us that Ibn Khaldūn was unable to uphold the exclusive position of prophetic knowledge and unable to hide his growing conviction of and belief in the mystical knowledge, that in other words in spite of a difference in origin the two kinds of knowledge are equal in nature and rank, and thus can equally claim discipleship, and adherence, we hit upon a passage of extreme interest contained in Chapter V of the New Introduction. This passage shows that Ibn Khaldūn's further study of the later Mystical Schools which has contributed so much to clarify his views on all epistemological problems, has also yielded results in providing him with the long-wanted and long-searched-for epistemological argument in favour of prophetic knowledge. In this passage he explains that the revealment of the angelic world obtained by the Saint is never *tafsīlan*, that is, it is never a knowledge of particulars: the Saint does not know the Angelic World in its specific differentiations. For such a differentiated knowledge, that is a knowledge of all the various species within the one genus: Angelic, our only source is the Qur'anic Revelation. This reminds one of Ibnū'l-'Arabī's distinction between the Mystic's Revealment and the Prophet's Revelation, the former he calls *an-nubuwwat-ul-mutlaqa* or *al-'amma* (revelation of a universal or general kind), the latter he denotes as *an-nubuwwa't-u'l-ikhtisās* (revelation of a particular kind). And going back in time and further East in space, we think of the differentiation made, e.g., by the logical realists of the Niyāya School of Indian Philosophy, between determinate (*savikalpaka* or well-defined, *vyavasāyātmaka*) and indeterminate (*nirvikalpaka* or inexpressible, *avyapadesya*) perception.

Thus, not only as a well-meaning sociologist, but also as a philosopher (if I may be allowed to say this of such a bad philosopher as Ibn Khaldūn has proved himself), he justifies the Islamic belief in Muḥammad and

the Qur'anic revelation, at the same time upholding the mystical claim to direct knowledge to the full.

I apologize for my long insistence on this point, but in it is ultimately one of the most important criteria of orthodoxy. For, once the exclusive position of the Prophet is encroached upon, the first frontal attack on official and orthodox Islam is made, for it constitutes a definite inroad in the one fundamental dogma of Islam, as embodied in the *Shahada*.

Ibn Khaldūn was conscious of this right from the start. He never ceased to stress the one and only duty and right of the Prophet as against the Saint, viz., the duty and right of publicly announcing the revealed message, and he denied, and most vehemently so, this right to whatever and however saintly a mystic; more of this we shall have later. After a long period of hesitations and confusions, as well as obvious dissatisfaction with the arguments of *kalām*, and an equally obvious effort to make them pass for his readers as valid and conclusive, he attained finally to the above recognition, which we have connected with Ibnu'l 'Arabī. And with this, the author of the Prolegomena denies the validity of what is the greatest danger of Mysticism, namely its claim to make "counter-revelations."

THE CHAPTER ON MYSTICISM

After having thus reconstructed some fundamental points of Ibn Khaldūn's attitude towards religion, we can now turn to the chapter on Mysticism itself. It might be well to give first an idea of the general plan followed by the author in dealing with this science.

Origin of Mysticism within Islam : example of the *salaf*, derivation of the name *ṣūfī*.

Psychology of Mysticism : the Mystical Path, the Discipline of the *Aḥwāl* and *Maqamāt*.

Science of Mysticism : systematisation of mystically revealed knowledge, *ṣūfī* writers and their works.

The Mystic's Revelation : how and what is revealed; silence is indicated for no expression is adequate, no proof possible.

Mystical experience depends on the *Inner Senses* (*wijdāniyyāt*)
 1st marginal addition, obviously an elaboration on the problem of these Inner Senses, the sources of mystical knowledge. In them only is the proof for the doctrine of Absolute Monism (*al wahdatu'l muṭlaqa*), which is given here as one of the solutions of the problem of God's immanence/transcendence. In this connection the two conceptions, those of the *Shuhūdiyya* and the *Wujūdiyya* are touched with reference to further explanations later.

The Shuhūdiyya conception : called by the author *ahlu'ttajalli wa'l-mazahir wa'l-haqrāt*, example taken from al-Farghānī.

The Wujūdiyya conception : called by the author *al-qawl bi'l wahdati'l muṭlaqa*, example taken from Ibn Daḥqān.

The dangers of these explanations : influences from heretical schools in the later mystics, examples.

2nd marginal addition, in which some more examples of these influences are given, namely the *ẓāhir-bāṭin* juxtaposition, and the *qutb* idea.

Conclusion : all this is certainly taken from the " Shī'ites and Rāfiḍites. "

Appendix, in which, with reference to certain verses of al-Harawī, the *Ṣufi Tauḥid* idea is explained according to one of Ibn Khaldūn's teachers, a great Spanish saint, Ibn az-Zayyāt.

Refutations of *Ṣufi* doctrines by Canonists (*Fuqahā*) and Licensed Legists (*Ahlu'l Fataya*).

Author's criteria for judging *Ṣufi* doctrines, behaviour and utterances. Final conclusion.

Already from this short index it can be seen that here we have a complete summary of Mysticism in Islam, in which all the important developments and problems are dealt with. We shall now enter into a more detailed analysis, always with a view to Ibn Khaldūn's personal opinions on Mysticism.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC MYSTICISM

With his habitual directness, he established already from the very beginning *Ṣufism* in the place he intends to assign to it, viz., amongst those sciences which have directly issued from the Law (*Shari'a*), as one of the revealed traditional sciences of Islam, having its origin in the *Sunna* of the *Salaf*.

Whereas older Islamic research had been inclined to see in *Ṣufism* " a foreign inoculation, " investigations of the last twenty years, amongst whom especially Massignon's great pioneer work must be mentioned, have now definitely agreed to emphasise instead the foundation of Islamic Mysticism on the Qur'an, and its natural development within the frame of and parallel to the other Islamic sciences. Massignon has put forward that the so-called " Theology of Aristotle " (translated ca. 226 A.H. but probably already known beforehand in other languages) which determined for ever, the course of Islamic philosophy, and had such a great influence on Islamic theology, affected Islamic mysticism much later than it did the other sciences, by furnishing proofs that in the 3rd century A.H., when Islamic mysticism first met that body of knowledge which he calls " le synchrétisme philosophique Oriental, " each of them still had independent

terminologies and opposed doctrines.¹ After this followed three centuries in which Ṣūfism delivered a losing battle in such mystics as Kharrāz, Hallāj, Tawhīdī, Ghazzālī and Suhrawardī Maqtūl,² against a transitional form of this oriental synchrétisme embodied mainly in two Islamic movements: the neoplatonic philosophy as developed by āl Fārābī, Ibn Miskawayh and Ibn Sīnā, and the synchrétistic "Oriental" philosophies such as those of the Ikhwān as-Ṣafa and their Qarmatian and Isma'īlī successors, until finally, in the 6th century A.H. Ibnu'l-'Arabī and his school surrenders the mystical theology of Islam to the synchrétistic monism of the Qarmatians, by which the actual divorce between the ascetic, devotional mystical discipline and the speculative mystical theosophy and cosmogony is consummated.

Thus, the distinction is no more between the early asceticism and the later ṣūfism of the 3rd century A.H., but between a devotional mysticism (emotional and moral) and a speculative mysticism (monistic and cognitional).³ This is the great service which Massignon has rendered to the study of Islamic mysticism.

THE TWO PHASES IN ITS DEVELOPMENT

And now we see that before Massignon, already somebody else had given a similar description of the history of mysticism in Islam. Ibn Khaldūn sees ṣūfism as a gradual development analogous to the other sciences of Islam, and he marks the writings of Ibnu'l-'Arabī, Ibn Sab'īn, Ibnu'l Fārid, etc., as finally expressive of the definite intermingling with heterodox sects, such as the Neo-Isma'īlīs. He notes in ṣūfism the development from a *ṭarīqa* in its earlier stages meaning a way of life, moral and disciplinary, for the practical psychological guidance of the individual, for a more interior conception of Islam, towards a *ṭarīqa* in its later (11th century) meaning as a system for spiritual, mental training reserved for closed circles of initiated and secret fraternities and a theology incomprehensible for the normal individual. Whilst parallel with this develops a conception of the Mystical Union from being considered as a supreme grace of God, a reward for self-exertion, accepted as an "extra" and not searched nor expiated upon or exploited, towards a Mystical Union searched for its own sake because of the knowledge of and power over the Unseen which it can afford.

That Ibn Khaldūn describes this earlier *ṭarīqa* as of "general prevalence" amongst the Companions and earliest adherents of Islam should be taken as a pious exaggeration rather than as a historical error.

1. Massignon: *Essai*, 59.

2. Massignon: *Essai*, 61/62.

3. The distinctive feature of the two phases is seen by Massignon in the two main and fundamental aspects of Mysticism, viz., its conception of the Mystical Union, and its social influence.

In this the author only follows the example of so many ṣufi writers, who generally included in their writings one or more chapters on the example given by the earliest followers of Islam.

Analogous to the two main phases in the development of ṣufism, Ibn Khaldūn has divided his essay into two halves. And with these two halves correspond two different aspects of Ibn Khaldūn's character. In the first half he is the moraliser, the reformer, the observer of human behaviour, the practical thinker concerned with social/ethical values. He investigates how these values arise and can be maintained. For this reason mysticism has a high place in his estimation. The later development, however, offers very little which is of general value for human society, and thus it seems quite natural that he does not seem to think it worthwhile to even so much as mention the ṣufi fraternities and orders which in his time must have been already spread throughout the lands of Islam. That in spite of this, he gives much space to an exposition (and often a sort of defence) of the mystical cosmogonies and ideogonies of the late speculative mystics, is due to the other Ibn Khaldūn which we have mentioned already on p. 271. He is too much interested in himself. His own intellectual curiosity leads him to consider metaphysical speculations which he realises to be of little or no ethical value and in fact full of much real danger for a religiously based society. He keenly realises their disintegrating effect, but he just cannot help himself. Thus, whereas in the first half there is an urgency in his manner of expressing and explaining,—he wants to convince his reader,—in the second half, he merely sums up a few of the existing cosmogonical conceptions by the mouth of their representatives, jotting down some of their ideas and symbols, without any desire to commit himself.

THE EARLIER PHASE]

It is interesting too that Ghazzālī does not receive his due ; he is only mentioned in passing, when some ṣufis and their books are enumerated. The whole accent of the first half of the essay falls on al-Qushayrī, and it is on Qushayrī that the author based his arguments. Al-Qushayrī, who had already a little earlier made an attempt at reconciliation between ṣufism and orthodox Islam, is an entirely different type of man from Ghazzālī. Qushayrī, erudite and æsthete, was above everything else a ṣufi, who tries to reform ṣufism itself which in his time had lost much of its strength and vitality, by reinstating it on a basis of discipline ; his famous *Risala* was a direct appeal to the ṣufi fraternity. Al-Ghazzālī, however, was predominantly a religious philosopher, tortured by the conflict between heart and mind, and revolting against the formalism prevalent in Islam. He sent out his *Iḥya* to the whole Islamic community in an effort to revivify faith by proving that religious knowledge must be supplemented by religious experience.

Thus al-Qushayrī recalling sufism to conformance must needs seek a rapprochement with the rules of the materialistic rationalism of the atomistic *kalām*, whereas Ghazzālī, seeking deliverance from the strict mental determination of values must find himself confronted with the spiritual intellectualism of the *falāsifa*.

What Ibn Khaldūn expects from sufism and values in it is not Ghazzālī's conclusion that sufism is the only way out of the problem, faith *versus* knowledge (Ibn Khaldūn had no such problem having made up his mind long ago that the two are ultimately irreconcilable. Ibn Khaldūn was not a tortured soul!), but al-Qushayrī's view that, provided sufism is kept within the bounds of disciplined Islam, provided it is controlled by Islamic theology, the solution it affords is ethical.

Sufism as an excellent rule for human conduct, as a way towards moral values can be a great contributing factor to the development and maintenance of civilisation. This is our author's emphasis all through the first half of the essay. Noticeable is the predominance given to such notions as *mujāhada*, *muḥāsaba* and *'ibāda*, *tā'a*, *imān* and *ikhlaṣ*, whereas Ghazzālī-notions such as *ḥubb'allah*, *shawq*, *uns*, *riḍā*, are totally omitted. For the same reason also, he makes a sharp distinction,—a distinction not always upheld by the mystics themselves,—between the mystical experience based upon the Islamic theological doctrine and any other kind of mysticism like that of the Christians and the Magians; for the former he uses the term *istaqāma*, the straight road of Islam as laid down in the Qur'anic revelation, *'aṣ-ṣiraṭa'l-mustaqīma* of the first *sura*, and he makes it quite clear that what he is considering is not mysticism in general but Islamic mysticism.

THE MYSTIC'S PSYCHOLOGY

His short psychology of the Mystic shows that he has understood the process of inner transformation of the self which is the beginning and end of the Mystical Path. The entire emphasis falls on "self-consciousness" or "self-awareness" which, in his opinion, is the distinguishing characteristic of human beings: man, in contrast to animals and other living beings, knows that he knows, that he feels and that he wills. According to Ibn Khaldūn this self-awareness is of two kinds—"conceptual" and "perceptual"—and it is the latter which by moral discipline (*mujāhada*) and devotional training (*'ibāda*) can select and encourage passing moods (*aḥwāl*) and develop them into permanent states of the soul (*maqāmāt*),* so that a quality (*ṣifa*) *advening* to the soul becomes a "second nature" (*malaka*), permanently inhering in the soul. In a later passage he explains how the spirit thus becomes trained to turn from the external senses to the internal senses (*al-ḥissu'l*

* The technical translations of *aḥwāl* and *maqāmāt* are "states" and "stations"

batīna) whereby the functions of the sensual soul weaken and those of the spiritual soul become strengthened, and so the spirit increases in power and receives a new vigour. Thus the spirit continues to grow in force until it becomes seeing (*shuhūdān*) where before it was only knowing (*'ilman*). Then is fulfilled the soul's true being and what belongs to it by and through its very essence: it receives the Divine Graces (*mawāhib*), infused knowledge (*'ulūm ladūnniyya*) and direct access to the Divine Reality (*fath Ilāhi*), and the spirit reaches the highest sphere that of the Angels, or "the Worlds of God's Command" (*'awālim min 'amr Ilāhi*). For, Ibn Khaldūn says it very clearly, Man's spirit belongs to this World. This reference to Qur'an, XVII, 85 shows that the author is acquainted with the Logos doctrine of the Muḥammadan mystics.

This is sufficient to show that in the first half of the essay, the author reproduces faithfully the ideas of the moderate, earlier devotional mystics ("the people of the *Risala*" as he calls them), on the two fundamental points: the final realisation is not a divinisation of man but an attainment of the sphere of the Logos; and the final realisation is, though a human endeavour and rightfully belonging to the essence of "human-ness" ultimately not a human achievement, but a Grace of God.

This position is definitely maintained even in the new Introduction, inserted later which we have discussed earlier, and where this inner perception is mentioned by its proper name *wijdān*, and where it is again, but now more to the point, made responsible for all man's higher knowledge. I do not think that Ibn Khaldūn ever, at least as far as we can follow him, conceded these two points to the later speculative mystics. In this he remained, to my knowledge, entirely within Islam. A development, however, is noticeable on other points.

For, there is more in this *wijdān* once it is admitted as a source of knowledge: it must, inevitably lead to new metaphysical notions and to entirely different psychological/cosmological conceptions. But this seems not yet to have been realised by the earlier Ibn Khaldūn of the Chapter on Mysticism as it was originally written. Therefore, when he describes the new cosmogonical systems of the later mystics, in the second half of the essay, he still appears to look upon them as rather queer, abstruse and daring.

THE LATER PHASE

In order to appreciate Ibn Khaldūn's personal conclusions we must reproduce briefly the manner in which he presents the later mystical speculations.

The transition to later mysticism is here represented as due mainly to, what we would term, external causes (for the internal necessity, inherent in the mystic's new epistemology, was not yet seen by Ibn Khaldūn). Mystics, he says over and over again, should not expatiate on their

knowledge. "But," in our author's own words, "in the time when the body of general knowledge was reduced to writing, and the learned Doctors composed works on Canonic Law and its Fundamentals on Theology, Exegesis and other subjects," also the mystics began to write books on their experiences. Mysticism became a "science," its rules and practices were systematised, its principles fixed, its linguistic expression became a "technical terminology"—or, at least, an effort to achieve this was made. And then, to put it in popular words, the trouble began. Then the mystics began to feel the need of a mystical psychology to explain how the veil of the senses could be removed (*kashf*), they had to construe a cosmology to harbour their visions and revelations in a coherent system. And it is thus with regret, but also with secret delight, but all the same with something near to scruple that Ibn Khaldūn enters upon the second phase of mysticism.

In order to be able to embrace the whole of the later development within the space of a few pages, Ibn Khaldūn makes a very approximate, possibly arbitrary division into two main groups, which I have given, for the sake of convenience, the two names of *shuhūdiyya* and *wujūdiyya* since they seem more or less to respond to what is generally understood under these notions. If they do not, that is if Ibn Khaldūn's descriptions of these two systems do not correspond with what is meant by these two terms, the mistake is Ibn Khaldūn's for my two appellations originate solely from the names he himself gives to the two systems (see the short summary of the Chapter).

The Shuhūdiyya.

The author begins with the *Shuhūdiyya*. Al Farghānī, (d. 1299) though strongly influenced by Ibnu'l-'Arabi, started from the basis laid down by Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl, the Illuminist (*ishrāqī*). He conceived Reality as Light, and saw all becoming as a neoplatonic emanation from this Light, and all being as relations of Light and Darkness. The origin of all becoming, the first emanational manifestation of Reality, is this Light shining on its own Self, as also Ibn Khaldūn mentions, after which he describes the subsequent emanations. As usual, our author here just juggles with any number of terms and symbols without much effort to explain and without any very clear phrasing, in a supreme attempt to comprise in a few sentences all the notions and ideas ever brought forward by this School of Mystics. In his defence it must be said, however, that hardly any of the later mystics which are here dealt with stand out for systematic coherence or consistency, whilst in their pathetic effort to reconcile their various visions, they themselves make use of any available notion ever used in Qur'an or early Theology in order to express the inexpressible and to remain, in spite of everything, within the fold. Nevertheless, the general emanational outline can be discerned in Ibn Khaldūn's description.

There is first a rather abortive attempt to explain the fundamental triplicity (*tathlith*) of Being in relation to becoming. It is the fundamental triplicity of all Dialectic (cf. Hegel's thesis-antithesis-synthesis). Here it is: (1) Being self-identified with its own One-ness and Its Own Knowledge of it (Ibn Khaldūn's term *dhāt karīma* or '*aynu'l waḥda*'), (2) Being knowing Itself as One in relation to Itself (Ibn Khaldūn's term: '*aḥadiyya*'), (3) Being knowing Itself as One in relation to the Many (Ibn Khaldūn's term: '*waihdaniyya*'). It is the Triad which in one form or other recurs with many of the thinkers of this Group, and is inevitable when Reality is conceived as Thought positing Itself as Thought, or One knowing Itself as One.

As first emanation is mentioned the '*alamu'l ma'āni*', the *ḥaḍra kamāliyya* and the *ḥaqīqa muḥammadiyya*. They represent the first outpour of the content of God's consciousness. Here we are in the presence (*ḥaḍra*) or world ('*alam*') in which takes place that degree of individualisation of the Essence (*dhāt*) in which all things are already separated from this Essence as its Self-Consciousness. They have positive Existence without as yet having concrete existence. They are existing as pure Universal Ideas (*ma'āni*) or most perfectly fulfilled forms (*kamāliyya*), i.e., pure intelligibility, as yet not limited by actual corporeal individualised existences. Another way of looking at them is as constituting the idea: Muḥammad (*ḥaqīqa muḥammadiyya*) which hypostatizes the self-manifestational aspect of God and is as such God's pure image and man's prototype. This sphere comprises at the same time the "ideāl" particularisations required to descend in manifestations, such as the instruments of creation (*lawḥ, qalam*), the instruments of revelation (*rusul, anbiya'*) and the collective idea of the Islamic body, which last idea could be compared to the "Invisible Church," or Augustin's "Divine City" or Calvin's "Holy Community;" but as idea much farther developed for here it is generally accepted that the totality of the "Islamic Community" as a Universal Idea existed already before its disintegration in individual souls.

All this, Ibn Khaldūn continues, is contained in that intermediate world which is called *Ḥaḍratu'l-'Amā'iyya*.* Then, by further emanation comes forth a lower plane *ḥaḍra* in which all these pure intelligibles have found a "corpus" (*ḥaba'*). The time and spaceless entities become fixed in time and space, as sunbeams in a dark room become "fixed" by the dust particles, and thus become visible to the

* Why has this, in the Oriental editions, been changed into *ḥaḍratu'l-kamāliyya*? It is obvious that this '*ama'*' here is not Jili's "blind unconscious power," "the absolute inwardness and occultation" (Nic. Stud. 95), but Ibnu'l 'Arabi's '*ama'*' (see Nyberg, *Introd.* 155f), a term denoting the first form of manifestation (see Ibnu'l 'Arabi's "Uqla" p. 57 in Nyberg's *Kleinere Schriften*). That the frame of reference should be Ibnu'l 'Arabi's system is also clear from the place occupied by the Throne ('*arsh*') as the link connecting the middle world with the individualisations of the lower, material world. It is the '*arsh*' '*Rahmani*' of Ibnu'l 'Arabi's "Uqla" pp. 56 ff. That Ibnu'l 'Arabi has also another Throne situated between God and the middle world (in his *Tadhkirat* and *Futuḥat*) has caused much confusion (see Nyb. Kl. Schr. 110, 153, 140 ff.).

mental eye. They have acquired as yet no concrete existence, but are present as conceptual or generally presentational entities. Another way of expressing this is that they are a kind of being of the order of metaphors (*martabatu'l mithāl*), which connotes more clearly their purely logical existence (or subsistence), for these *mithāl* do not signify their veritable form (*ṣūra*) which is equivalent to their essence, but merely a symbol or type, which resembles the reality only in certain qualities. From these then descend the Throne ('*arsh*) and the Footstool (*kursi*), as well as all heavenly and earthly bodies, first the "elements," then the "compounds."

Although we have tried to be a little more explicit on the fundamental points, we have remained closely enough to Ibn Khaldūn's text to give the reader an idea how he summarises al Farghānī's cosmogonical system as this appears from his *Muntaha-ul-Madarik* a commentary on Ibnū'l Fārid's poem "*At-ta'yya Al-kubra*." *

On this system the author says: "It is a conception which those who are accustomed to proceed by rational reasoning cannot possibly understand in all its implications. It is too obscure and abstruse, and the difference in the way of expression between the people of the Mystic Vision (*Mushāhada*) and the Interior Senses, and those of rational demonstration is too great." And he proceeds, again introducing his sentence with the irritating *Rubbama*: "Perhaps, (or possibly or whatever he may mean with it) this conception should be rejected on the evidence of the Law."

The Wujūdiyya.

Then the author passes on to the school of thought which we have termed *wujūdiyya* and he commences by saying: "Now this is a conception which is even stranger than the former and even more difficult to understand." His explanations here are nevertheless considerably more lucid, and what is more, he does not reproduce somebody else's ideas, he does not only describe, but he really *explains*, and he uses considerably more space in doing so. Whereas he was obviously rather impatient of the complicated cosmogonies and ideogonies of the first-mentioned group, here he goes nearly out of his way to convince the reader. He builds up for him a universe in all its degrees and variations of being as a "power" (*quwwa*) containing another power of lower degree, containing again another power of still lower degree, etc. The all-containing power is "what is called the Divine Power," he says, and then he continues (mixing his metaphors). "This Divine Power is disseminated (*Inbaththat*) in all things existing, general and particular, manifest or latent, "form" as well as "matter," uniting everything and comprising everything." Thus: "Everything is One, and

* This poem is translated by Nicholson in his *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge, 1921.

this is the Essence of the Divine Itself, Which in reality is One and Uncompounded." Then he proceeds by explaining that all the variations and differentiations, all that plurality of being which we observe in the world around us are, according to this school, only existing in our mind, as mental/verbal concepts, but do not exist in reality. He explains this by the well-known example taken "from the philosophers" as to the existence of colours, namely "that their existence is conditioned by the light that falls on them; if there is no light, there are no colours." A second example is brought forward, now taken "from the ṣūfis," namely that of a sleeper: "When a man sleeps, then also his external senses are asleep, and for him there are no sensibles."

"This is briefly their conception as far as we can understand it from Ibn Daḥqān's exposé," says the author. The writer has no knowledge of this Ibn Daḥqān, but Ibn Khaldūn's description of the Universe as a Power within a Power within a Power, reminds one naturally of Jillī's* conception of the Cosmos as "a dream within a dream within a dream" (*khayālun fī khayālīn fī khayālī*) as developed in his *al-insānu'l-kāmil*. It also irresistibly draws out in our memory that beautiful poem of Rūmī, in his *Mathnawī*, Book IV and translated by Iqbal in his "Metaphysics in Persia," p. 117.

Ibn Khaldūn's conclusion on this "Ball within a ball within a Ball" conception of the Universe is as follows. "It is a precarious doctrine, for we know with certainty that the land whence we as travellers have come and whither we are going, really exists although it is hidden from our eyes." We see the sky and the stars, he continues, and we are absolutely certain that they exist as separate entities, and nobody should know better than what his own convictions tell him, in spite of the fact that there are Mystics who contend that they have actually verified or realised this ultimate One-ness of the All. And even those Mystics, though they may have been given the faculty of experiencing the Unity of all Being, insist that one must not remain at the station of Union (*Jam'*), but that one must ascend still higher and again distinguish the particular modes of existence which station they then call that of Separateness (*farq*), for otherwise the Mystic loses what he has bargained for.

If anything can be taken from these statements, it must needs be very little. Obviously, the careful author withholds his own opinion. Although he does not seem very favourably inclined towards the first-mentioned conception, and his interest in the emanational cycles seems very small indeed, and although he appears to treat the second conception with greater emphasis, I do not think that there are sufficient indications that his leanings were already at this stage definitely towards the *wujūdīyya*. He is still in the stage of playing about with fascinating and exciting theories, by which he is highly attracted, but of which he is all the same slightly afraid. His main objection against the Absolute

*Nicholson, op. cit. in which Jillī's work is partly translated and partly described and explained.

Monists seems to be their position of epistemological Idealism, against which his common-sense revolts. It may be, however, that what he actually wants to say is that the monistic point of view should never be adopted as a dogma to be believed in like any of the other tenets of Islam even if one's convictions based on the sense perceptions would be opposed to it, but that it is only for those who have actually experienced this Absolute Unity of the All.

THE FIRST ADDITION ON WIJDĀN

The epistemological problem, however, must have occupied the later Ibn Khaldūn considerably. He must have discovered that the Mystic's acceptance of *wijdān* carries with it the most far-reaching consequences, for it is precisely at the mystic's organs of knowledge, the *wijdān-riyyat*, that the first marginal addition is attached. And it is on this occasion that he finds his opportunity in once more describing the two monistic systems as direct consequences of the mystic's epistemology. And here we find our author's most direct statements on the two schools, and there is no more wavering, nor withholding.

The context is as follows. After having briefly reviewed the notions put forward by the theologians and philosophers as to the nature of God's relations to the world (a fundamental problem of Islam, in fact of all revealed religions recognizing a personal God and thereby involving an (apparent) dualism between God and the World, between Creator and Created, the dualism inherent in all Theism), the author proffers the two monistic conceptions as definite solutions of this problem: They proclaim the identity (natural, existential, subsistential or essential), i.e., *ittiḥād* or *tawḥīd* of God and the world, representing this Unity in two different ways. "According to the first, the Eternal Essence is latent in things temporal, sensibles as well as intelligibles and is united with them in these two forms of presentation; they are the external manifestations of the Divine and He perseveres in them, i.e., He is their Up-holder in the sense that without Him they would not exist": This, says the author, is the opinion of those who believe in infusion (*ḥulūl*) or incarnation. This is what the Christians claim for their Messiah, and also the Imamites hold the same belief as to their Imāms. It is, according to Ibn Khaldūn, a very strange belief, for it implies the infusion of the Eternal in a temporal, or else their union or identity (*ittiḥād*). The second explanation is offered by those who believe in the doctrine of Absolute Monism (*al-waḥdatul muṭlaqa*): "As if they apprehended that the doctrine of Infusion implies an Other-ness (*ghayriyyah*) which is inconsistent with the idea of One-ness, they refuse altogether to differentiate in essence, in existence and in attributes between the Eternal and things created; they consider the doctrine of Other-ness erroneous and contend that the sensual and intellectual perceptions, far

from being manifestations of the Eternal essence are actually human creations, and as such *awham*." This is the plural of *wahm* and Ibn Khaldūn explains clearly in what sense this ambiguous term must be taken, namely as producing purely subjective entities, which in reality are non-existent. In reality, there is no existence except God. For further elaboration he refers to what he has said already before in the original chapter on Mysticism, and more he apparently does not intend to say. With great stress, however, he mentions again that this cosmic conception cannot be understood according to the rules of conceptual thinking, or as he calls it "the rules of deduction and induction;" whoever tries to do this strays in error. Knowledge of this last-mentioned monistic type derives from "angelic perceptions," and these can only be experienced "by the prophets and after them the saints, the former on the strength of their inborn nature, the latter by Divine Guidance."

The briefness and assurance by which the two systems are here characterised in their essential features stand in sharp contrast to the long and uncertain groupings which we have described earlier. Ibn Khaldūn now knows about the two great mystical schools, what he wants to know about them, and he has made up his mind. In ascribing the knowledge of the *wujūdiyya* type to the prophets he gives himself away. There is no other passage in the whole Prolegomena where our author states more clearly his unquestionable belief in and adherence to the doctrine of Absolute Monism (*al-wahdatu'l muṭlaqa*) or otherwise called Existential Monism (*wahdatu'l wujūd*).

That his opinion as exposed here was not a momentary impulse but an all-pervading conviction is corroborated by the New Introduction which we have already summarised above and wherein his whole epistemology/cosmology is based on the principle of Monism.

THE SECOND MARGINAL ADDITION

We must emphasise here "the principle of Monism" for it is doubtful whether he followed Ibnu'l 'Arabī and his school in many of their further elaborations or in that thick "overgrowth" of ideas and institutions which the later ṣūfis came to adopt. His original opinion on these did not change later on. His historical eye had detected the influence exerted on these ṣūfis by the Imāmites amongst whom he specially mentions the neo-Isma'īlīs.* He explains the rise of the idea of the *Qutb* as a borrowing from the institution of the Imām. "They have gone even further" he says, "for in order to establish the wearing of the ṣūfi robe in their Order and Congregation on a firm basis of tradition (*asnada*) they ascribed it to 'Alī, which is another instance of their borrowing of ideas from the Heretics." In a later marginal addition he even felt himself compelled to enlarge on this subject of ṣūfi borrowings from the "Rāfiḍa,"

*This is corroborated by modern research, for instance Tor Andrea: "Die Person Muhammads."

as he calls them. He mentions the *ẓāhir-bāṭin* juxtaposition as another instance and a fundamental one, of such borrowings; in this they found an additional justification for the institution of the *Qutb*, for they maintained that "just like the Shi'ite Imam was authoritative for the external meaning (*ẓāhir*) of God's Law, so the Ṣufi *Qutb* was a necessary guide to teach the internal meaning (*bāṭin*) of God's Words."

Ibn Khaldūn does not follow Ibnu'l 'Arabi's school in everything. He accepts the principle and is against many of the later constructions and embellishments and other developments; he sees the dangers of a too far developed *ẓāhir-bāṭin* distinction, for does it not enable the "Heretics" as well as the "Heretical Mystics" to read into the simple Word of the Qur'an any desirable doctrine or idea? Was it not on the strength of a supposed "internal" meaning of certain expressions and words of the Qur'an that the mystics put forth their emanational symbols and notions such as, for instance, the words *rataq* and *fataq* (Qur'an, XXI, 30) the notions of *kursi*, *'arsh* (Qur'an, II, 256, XXXVIII 33; XXXII 4; XL 15, etc.) and many others, whereas, according to Ibn Khaldūn, "there is nothing in the Divine Law which could lead us to assume such like emanational sequence."

THE APPENDIX ON TAWHĪD

That he accepts utterly and completely the principle of Absolute Monism, for that we have further evidence in a most interesting appendix on the idea of *tawhīd*, an appendix strangely omitted by all editions except that of Quatremere. Here, however, we have nothing so direct as in the aforementioned passage, which is possibly due to the fact that this passage, introduced as an appendix to the actual essay, appears very nearly contemporary to the text, and not as the other additions of a much later date. But although the author here does not speak himself, but puts the defence of Haravi's well-known verses in the mouth of somebody which he calls his teacher, the very fact that he goes out of his way and out of the natural course of his essay in order to repeat at length his teacher's Apologia, seems tantamount to his approval. At the same time it shows the importance Ibn Khaldūn attached to the problem.

Since the Paris edition is extremely rare, I may be forgiven if I quote here the verses in question,* in my own deficient translation, for only if one realises that they assert nothing less than that whoever declares the Unity of God is a heretic, one can understand the strength of conviction which prompted our author to expatiate on them even though only in an indirect manner.

"None can declare one Him Who is One, since all who do so are deniers.

*They have been translated in French (better than de Slane's translation) by Massignon in his "Passion d'al Hallaj," p. 788.

"The enunciation of God's One-ness, by adding an epithet (to Him Who is without epithet)

"Is only a dualisation, which the One Himself nullifies.

"His Own Unity is His Own Unification

"And those who describe Him with the epithet 'One' are heretics."

Because of verses such as these al-Harawī was decried a madman and a dangerous, heretical *ṣūfī*, but Ibn Khaldūn undertakes to devote several pages to reproduce words spoken in his defence.

The argument runs as follows. The doctrine of God Unity (*tawhid*) implies the abnegation of the existence of all temporal things. By declaring God's One-ness, the declarer himself posits his own existence (namely as declarer), thereby affirming the existence of a not-being. It is, says Ibn Khaldūn's teacher, as though, when two people are together in one house, one says to the other: "There is no one in the house besides you." As usual, Ibn Khaldūn reproduces the example far from logically correct, but the meaning can be surmised. "The trouble," he continues, "is only caused by the weakness in our language which does not lend itself to the expression of abstract realities and by the deficiency of the words to render the Truth in and by them." He gives a further example of such linguistic difficulties. But, on the other hand, one only tries to express God's Unity if one has not yet attained the ultimate mystical experience of this One-ness Itself, for once the station of *jam'* (union) has been reached, "the dualism God-World recedes and nothing remains but the consciousness of the Absolute One-ness, and then this need no more be pronounced in words or observed in the mind."

The poet only spoke these words as an exhortation and a reminder to show that there is such a higher consciousness in which God's One-ness is no more spoken nor thought about, but experienced, and therefore, there is a stage in the development of man's soul, when the pronouncement of God's Unity becomes "an evil deed," for it shows that one has not yet attained the highest stage.

The passage ends by condemning all the useless discussions which have arisen around these verses, for no one can verify their truth but he who has actually experienced the same.

If the reader should not be convinced that it is really Ibn Khaldūn who is speaking here though through the words of his teacher, we can advance an interesting passage in the New Introduction, Chapter IV on Human and Angelic Knowledge in which, now the author himself touches the same subject, namely the impossibility for the mental/verbal concept to attain to Ultimate Reality. Ibn Khaldūn reproduces here in a few brief sentences what has become known in the history of Philosophy as Parmenides' Principle of Contradiction,* since he was the first who in

* Since de Slane (II, 435) has not understood the point, and those who are dependent on his French translation would miss it, I give here the correct translation: "In every logical problem there is always a contradiction between negation and affirmation (i.e., between $A=B$ and $A \neq B$) because only one of the two can claim the intermediary of the copula between its two terms. (i.e., only one can be put $=$)"

the Western part of the world stated clearly this principle on which the whole of logic depends, and which is the logical form of the Principle of Identity: "non est negare et affirmare simul." The principle, as also stated by Ibn Khaldūn, dictates that each affirmation of a "being" since it implies at the same time the negation of its opposite, therefore states the being of a "not-being." It is, says Ibn Khaldūn, due to this contradiction (Ibn Khaldūn's term *taraddud*) that the road of logical reasoning and judgment can never lead to Reality, and that the other road must be chosen. On this other road, according to Parmenides, the truth of our knowledge is regulated by the object itself of our knowledge, the ontological reality itself, for this is the sense of Parmenides' famous statement: "It is the same thing to think and to be." It is the essence of being, the only possible object for thought, which is the ground and foundation of thought. Although Ibn Khaldūn's conclusion is the same, he does not state the last link in the chain of this argument for Absolute Monism, except in the metaphorical terms of "the veil" which ultimately hides the object of all conceptual knowledge, and which can only be lifted by what he calls "spiritual exercises" so that the object is seen by direct "eye to eye" vision, and the identity is seen with the perception of the inner eye (*'aṣn idrākī*).

That such like discussions are not totally unexpected, but on the contrary mere amplifications and further explanations of a thought which possessed Ibn Khaldūn already at the time of writing his 'Prolegomena,' to this bears testimony his definition of *tawhīd* as this occurs in the chapter on *kalām*, which we have mentioned above. There it is said that *tawhīd* is our incapacity to arrive by means of inductive reasoning to the First Cause. This resembles closely the descriptions of *tawhīd* given by the earlier mystics, e.g., the definition attributed to Abū Bakr and reported by Junayd (d. 910 A.H.).*

IBN KHALDŪN'S CRITERIA FOR JUDGING THE MYSTIC

What remains for us to discuss is Ibn Khaldūn's opinion as to how the Islamic community in general and the legal elite in particular should judge the mystic. For this purpose he divides all the questions relative to mysticism and mystics into four main groups, which according to him must be dealt with and judged separately. They are:

- (1) The whole complex of moral and spiritual discipline involved in the "Mystical Path," and its states and stations.

* "The noblest saying concerning *tawhīd* is that of Abū-Bakr. Glory to God, Who has not vouchsafed to His creatures any means of attaining unto knowledge of Him except through impotence to attain knowledge unto Him," which is then explained by Hujwiri. "Kashf'u'l Mahjub," translated by R. A. Nicholson, London, 1911, p. 284; similar sayings in Sarraj *Kitāb al-Luma fit-Taṣawwuf* ed. R. A. Nicholson, Gubb Memorial Series, Leiden 1914, pp. 28/35.

- (2) The whole contents of the Mystic's Revelation.
- (3) The influence and power over visible and invisible worlds which some advanced *ṣufis* claim and have proved to possess.
- (4) The utterances (*shathāt*) which issue from the mystic at the supreme moment of his ecstasy.

As to the first group, the moralist in Ibn Khaldūn approves wholeheartedly, and he also admits the third group, "the supernatural powers of the Mystic" (*karāmat*) are, he says, "an irrefutable truth," "and if there have been theologians who have condemned these, they have done so wrongly." He believes in the mystic's power to perform miracles, from his own experience as well as from the historical evidence (*sic*) of earliest Islam. All this is highly valuable since it contributes to strengthen the religious hold on the people, and thus further the unity of the Islamic community.

But precisely because religion has a social function the other aspects of *ṣufism* should not be encouraged. Any attempt by the mystic to express what he has seen, can only lead to confusion. The mystical experience being based on perceptions by the "inner senses" and language having been formed to convey notions of things perceived by the outer senses, no language can ever express what the mystic sees. Therefore, "it is befitting to raise no objections to their way of expression, and to abstain from further investigation." The people should consider all mystical descriptions as they are taught to consider the *Mutashābihāt*, those terms from the Islamic Revelations which have an ambiguous meaning. This also applies to the ecstatic utterances of the mystics. People should remember that mystics "are far removed from the world of the senses," and he who is "overwhelmed by supernatural forces is excusable and pardonable." As such a mystic should be considered, e.g., Abū Yazīd Bistāmī (d. 874). This mystic in a moment of ecstasy had exclaimed: "Glory be to me, Who is there more glorious than I!"¹ A mystic who was rightly condemned is, according to Ibn Khaldūn, al-Hallāj (d. 922).² In contrast to Bistāmī, who only uttered such seemingly blasphemous words in the actual moment of transportment, al-Hallāj persisted in his ecstatic language even after he had regained the full consciousness of his normal senses. A mystic should realise the tremendous responsibility he is carrying and should act accordingly. Whatever the mystic sees of things hidden or utters in words during his ecstasy, he should keep his knowledge to himself, for it should never have any further consequences in the way of a reorientation of the beliefs and doctrines of the officially established religion.

It is entirely in accordance with his condemnation of philosophy as anything more than a *method* of thinking, a method, as well as a vocabulary applied also by himself, that he disapproves of *ṣufism* when it

1. "Subhān! Ma A'zama Sham!"

2. Whose "Ana'l Haqq" has become notorious.

becomes anything more than a method of living. Therefore, in the same way as he rejects philosophy as a search after truth for its own sake, he disapproves of sufism as a way of obtaining knowledge for knowledge's sake. Ibn Khaldūn is keenly aware of the dangers threatening the unity of the revealed and traditionally established religion if the experiences of the mystic are accepted as supplementary to the great revelation of the Prophet Muḥammad. Accepting new sources of knowledge, either cognitional or inspirational, is the beginning of disintegration. This Ibn Khaldūn knows from his own observations of the 14th century Islam.

Evoking the example of the *salaf* as well as that of the earlier mystics, "the people of the Risala," who not only never told of their experiences but also "whenever a glimpse of the supernatural was shown to them, they at once turned their attention from it" and never concentrated on it neither in word nor in thought, he implores the mystics of his day to keep silent. At this stage, the author could do no more than impress upon the mystics their duty to refrain from explanations and descriptions, for he himself was still in doubt and uncertainty in how far the visions of the later mystics, described at length in their writings, did not, all the same, contain some truth. As we have seen and explained on page 282 the later Ibn Khaldūn had no doubt left any more as to the impossibility for the mystic to have any determinate and particularised knowledge of the higher worlds. At this later stage he gives the definite lie to all the complicated cosmogonies and ideogonies of the later mystics, declaring them with that one sentence which we quoted, to be only subjective formulations of a truth of which only the Qur'an has given objectively valid expression.

From the whole Prolegomena it is clear that he never conceded any apostolic rights to other than Muḥammad. What may possibly be Ibn Khaldūn's dethronement of the Prophet's revelation as the highest metaphysical truth, can nowhere be construed as implying the enthronement of any other. Throughout he disapproves of the 'Alide branches of the great Islamic tree. Islam is God's revelation as given to the Prophet Muḥammad and as laid down in the Qur'an. Those who cannot in any way attain to direct knowledge of this Truth contained and expressed therein, should believe unquestioningly in the Word and obey the Command. For this is the best way for man, this only enables him to live a good physical and social life. As for the others, Ibn Khaldūn could himself have said the words which he quotes from his favourite teacher: "The good acts of the pious are the evil acts of those who are near God."*

As a final criterion to be applied in any case of doubt to any mystic whose words give rise to uncertainty as to his orthodoxy, Ibn Khaldūn mentions the mystic's conduct. For even the highest saint should

* *Hasanatu'l Abrar Sey'atu'l Muqarrinā* (quoted in the *Tavhid* addition to the Chapter on Mysticism) The last term denotes the advanced sufis

conform to the standards and rules of Islamic society. Therefore even if he utters the wildest-sounding heretical statements, "if his merits and those of his disciples are known to be above suspicion, he should be given the credit of his good intentions." Owing to the natural tendency of all mysticism to transcend the ethical level, a warning like this one does not seem out of place in a time of which we know that some mystics were beginning to allow themselves the most extravagances of behaviour. This is a criterion which even today will be applauded by every well-intentioned and sound-thinking observer of society, and it does credit to Ibn Khaldūn's fundamentally sensible social conceptions.

CONCLUSION

I think we have now discussed all important points relevant to Ibn Khaldūn's attitude towards religion, and his undeniable leanings towards Absolute Monism, although he hesitates to accept many of the elaborations and adaptations with which most Absolute Monists in Islam have busied themselves, and although there is no direct evidence that Ibn Khaldūn adhered to anything but the bare principle of Monism.

The starting-point of any analysis of Ibn Khaldūn's attitude towards religion must always be his utter disbelief in human reason to attain to highest knowledge, *i.e.*, he rejects reason as a means to search for the ultimate criteria by which our beliefs can be validated and real knowledge attained. For those who have this mistrust of reason as a way to attaining knowledge other than strictly material, three other ways are open: either Scepticism or Authoritarianism or Mysticism. After all we have explained above, no one can proclaim Ibn Khaldūn a sceptic, taking into account that the true sceptic not only says "*ignoramus*" (we do not know), but "*ignorabimus*" (we can never know). Shall we then have to call Ibn Khaldūn an authoritarian or a mystic? For either of the two there seems to be much evidence, as we have seen. There are passages in which he demands unquestionable belief in the prophetic revelations, numerous passages, throughout the book. In other passages, much rarer ones, he seems to leave the authority of the Prophet entirely out of consideration. It is this which has puzzled most biographers.

First of all we must stress that these two seemingly contradicting features are very often combined in one person, for it must not be forgotten that most "Mystics" are only mystics in so far as they choose mystics as their authority rather than philosophers or scientists or any other experts. But with Ibn Khaldūn the case is slightly different, for in his "mystical moods" he is far removed from any authoritarianism. Whereas when he talks about religion he is strictly authoritarian. He distinguishes "religion" as a product of practical reason from something else and something higher which is the outcome of what he calls "contemplative reason."

We cannot understand Ibn Khaldūn if we do not remember that his world-view is such as to allow for the existence of several orders of being in the universe and that consequently he assigns different ways of approach according as the objects belong to a different domain of experience, of different levels of being.

The reader will remember what we have explained as to Ibn Khaldūn's fundamental conception of *ittiṣāl*, as well as his three kinds or degrees of *fikr*. For things of this world, purely material, physical things, as also in the realm of his own science of sociology, he is the empiricist, his method is purely empirical, *i.e.*, he observes particular occurrences and concrete relations from which he then derives general laws. And in so far as the exigencies of practical conduct are often prevailing in his judgment, and he is content to test beliefs and values by their practical results, he is eminently the pragmatist, in the modern sense of the word. Empiricism and pragmatism go often together and are not always easy to distinguish.

When we leave that order of being in which sense-perception plays a predominant part we enter into a domain where other factors more difficult to name begin to participate, like when we study, *e.g.*, man in general, or in other words society and its general rules of conduct, general institutions, general beliefs, customs, political, economic and educational. Here as we have seen, he places religion and here he demands acceptance of authority (*taqlid*) and obedience to the Revelation (*istima'*) and to Tradition (*ittiba'*).¹ Here he is the downright authoritarian. For Islam has been one of the main factors which contributed to the greatness and success of the Arabic-speaking world and in Islam is the guarantee for its maintenance. Here, in the social/moral domain, he is as orthodox as the most orthodox of the Church fathers. He upholds al-Ash'ari's *bi la kayfa* (without asking how) to the full, and even goes farther than the founder of Islamic Theology, in admitting none of *kalām*. For socially man has to conform, and even the mystics have to conform. This is the attitude of ethical utilitarianism; that is, which looks upon all moral codes and religious beliefs from the standpoint of pure expediency. But when we arrive at the domain where the objects can only be approached by what Ibn Khaldūn calls "contemplation," when we have left far behind us man as a mineral/vegetable/animal when we have also left man as a social animal,² and have entered upon man as a seeker after absolute truth, that is a truth no more relative to man's physical subsistence, nor to his social co-existence, but a truth in which, according to Ibn Khaldūn man's true existence is revealed, then he leaves behind him all authority, and in the privacy of his own true self, he not only rejects an *Imām* and a *qutb*, but also the intermediacy of the Prophet himself. Then, according to Ibn

1. These are the very words used by Ibn Khaldūn in the New Introduction to Section VI, Chapter III

2. Aristotle's well-known statement has been reproduced by our author in the opening sentences of Chapter III of the New Introduction to Section VI.

Khaldūn, there is nothing any more but the experience of the One-ness Itself, which leaves no room for anything else but God.

There is nothing so very surprising in all this. MacDonald has already stated that "...It is not strange to find that all Muslim thinkers have been tinged with Mysticism to a greater or lesser degree, though they may not all have embraced formal Sufism and accepted its vocabulary and systems,"* and even Ibn Khaldūn is no exception.

MIYA SYRIER.

*MacDonald's *Life of Ghazzali* JAOS, 20, first half, p. 118.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

The Tarih Rahat Afzā :

MR. KHURSHID ALI, ex-Director of the Daftari-Diwānī-wa-Mal has a very laudable scheme, that is, to publish very rare and valuable manuscripts which should be made accessible to students of the Deccan History. As the valuable manuscripts are scattered in various libraries it is not easily accessible to students, much less, time to refer them. Sometimes two or three copies of the same manuscripts are found written by different copyists. These contain errors of omissions and commissions and at times these are incomplete and as such it is not in the purview of scholars to utilise.

Mr. Khurshid Ali deserves to be congratulated for not only giving the rare manuscripts a new lease of life but also making them accessible to scholars.

Under his scheme the manuscript published is ' *The Tarih Rahat Afzā* ' of Sayyid Muhammad Ali A'l Husain, being the first of the series. The *Tarih Rahat Afzā* deals with the Timuri Sultans and covers the period from 736 A.H. to 1173 A.H. The book is divided into two parts. The first part concerns with the Timuri Sultan and his successors of Iran and Turan. While in the second part the author surveys the Mughal Rule and deals at great length with the reign of Asaf Jah I, Nawab Nasir Jung, the Martyr, Nawab Muzzafer Jung, and Salabat Jung.

The author being a contemporary his work should be considered authentic. Besides *Rahat Afzā*, he has also written *Burhan-ul-Futuh* whose revised version was incorporated in *Mirat-us-Shafa*.

The writing of the *Tarih Rahat Afzā* commenced at the instance of Nawab Mir Najab Ali Khan Bahadur Shamshir Jung.

Two manuscript copies of this work are preserved in the State Library. One bears the date of 12th Ramadan, 1185 A.H., which is more valuable as it was copied twelve years after the narrative was completed. The copyist's name is Muzzafer Husain Hyderabadī while the other copy of the same bears the date of 16th Ramadan, 1298. This was written very late as is shown by the date given by the copyist named Sayyid Baqur son of Sayyid Muhammad. A third copy of the same with many errors is in the possession of Nawab Alam Yar Jung Bahadur.

After perusing and comparing these manuscripts Mr. Khurshid Ali has tried his best to reduce the errors as far as possible. Thus as the result of his laborious work the *Tarikh Rahat Afzā* is presented in one volume of 373 pages with a short note of introduction.

The *Maaṣir-i-Nizami* of Lala Mause Ram is being edited and will form the 2nd volume of the series promised.

The "Aiwān : "

A new Urdu monthly published by Sayyid Muqtār Muḥammad Kirmani, under the title of *Aiwān* has made its appearance in February, 1947, with the avowed object of inculcating interest in the Deccan History; and to give full publicity to the work of the great personages of the past who have played their part nobly.

In the first issue of this valuable Journal, which has kept up its high standard in its subsequent issues, there appears a very learned biographical sketch of Nawab Asaf Jah I from the pen of Mr. Khurshid Ali, which merits the attention of scholars.

In its subsequent issues we find interesting articles on some aspect or other of Asaf Jah's life—such as the seventeen point Testament of Asaf Jah—Asaf Jah's Character, Anecdote of Asaf Jah—and the principles of Government of Asaf Jah, etc., all these have been contributed by Mr. Khurshid Ali interesting as they are they deserve notice of scholars.

Intermediate College for Secunderabad :

H.E.H. the Nizam's Government are shortly opening an Intermediate College in Secunderabad; in the first instance it will have Arts classes, later on it will have Science sections too.

The Work of Government Translation Bureau :

The Government Translation Bureau has translated standard books which are classified as :—Philosophy 73, History 160, Economics and Sociology 22, Law 26, Science, Mathematics and Astronomy 42, Physics 29, Chemistry 26, Engineering 40, Medicine 43, Education 2, while the number of new technical terms coined are :—for Philosophy 2,173, History 500, Sociology 2,706, Education 5,370, Law 18,000, Science, Mathematics and Astronomy 1,696, Physics 2,000, Chemistry 2,452, Medicine 40,000, Engineering 10,000.

Besides this work, it has to its credit, 10,000 technical terms which form a first volume from A to E, of page 240, ready for publication.

The Rainbow :

This English Weekly has announced that hereafter it will reserve four pages of its issue for the Deccan History.

K.S.L.

DECCAN

We Muslims are one :

The Deccan Times, Madras has recently published some extracts from the speeches delivered by Dr. Abdul Wahhab Azzam, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Fuad I University, Cairo, Mr. Mustafa Momen, Prof. Hajji Rashidi and Djanamar Adjam of Indonesia at the Aligadh Muslim University on March 30, 1947. "Islam has given us a great culture and God has made us the preserver of it. And I (Dr. A. W. Azzam) am glad to say that we are proving ourselves more competent day by day as the custodian of that culture—'Verily the Muslims are brothers to one another'—*Quran*—Wherever I go in a Muslim country in the world anywhere I do not feel like a stranger." Quoted Iqbal's couplet :—

'The whole of Daru'l-Islam is our homeland, and other country we have none.'

"It has for a long time been my cherished desire to come into contact with Muslim India, and I am happy to say that I have been very much impressed to-day. The impressions which I now carry with me will be a message, I am going to deliver to Egypt. There is no need, I think, he added, to throw any light on Muslim brotherhood throughout the world as it is an established fact that the Muslims are one compact whole. I can emphatically say that I have found Aligadh much higher and far better than what I had thought it to be. I wish and pray to God that this University may attain a unique and signal position in the Muslim world. I cannot help meeting each and every Muslim as one of my own blood." Dr. Azzam revealed that he had started Urdu classes in Fuad I University and he promised to send Egyptian students to India to teach Arabic to the Muslims in India. "If you can collect the rays of Islam emanating from Morocco, Egypt, Pakistan, Iraq and Indonesia in the focus of the Quran and the *Kalema* you can smash not only foreign exploitation but the heathen culture from the Muslim countries all over the world," observed Mustafa Momen, the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt. He stressed the need of establishing "*one Muslim land, united and strong from the Atlantic to the Pacific*." Hajji Rashidi of Indonesia said "We feel proud to say that we are Muslims and we thank you for that. It was the Muslims from India who first brought us the light. At the same time I feel sorry to say that for a long time we have been so cut off from and have

known so little about each other. This apathy between the Muslims of one country and another has been one of the root-causes of the disintegration of Muslim power in the world. I feel very much delighted in addressing you when I remember that you had helped us a lot in our fight against the Dutch exploitation by stretching your hand of friendship towards us. Prof. Djanamar Adjam, editor of *Al-Djihad* of Indonesia, expressed his countrymen's desire and anxiety to establish relations with other countries. Muslim University in Asia as such occupies a very privileged position in the Muslim world of Asia. We wish Aligadh to be a great seat of learning for all of us." Iqbal has well said :—

ایک ہوں مسلم حرم کی پاسبانی کیلئے نیل کے ساحل سے لیکر تاجہ خاں کا شفر

Calligraphy—by Yaqut Musta'simi and Aurangzeb Alamgir :

In continuation of our note on the same topic published in the last issue of the *Islamic Culture* (p. 189), we wish to say that we have done our best to trace some specimen of calligraphy of the great master, Yaqut Musta'simi (d. A.H. 698). We are glad that our efforts have been fruitful in tracing at least something. About two years ago Kutb Khana-i-Asfiya (State Library), Hyderabad, Deccan, from which we have already cited in these pages several masterpieces of this branch of Muslim Fine Arts, held an exhibition of unique Arabic and Persian MSS. which was, no doubt, very much appreciated. The writer had the opportunity of seeing some exhibits of this show. There was one MS. of the holy Quran, whose colophon was written thus : قرآن کریم بخط یاقوت مستعصمی ۵۶۶۱ " the holy Quran in Yaqut Musta'simi's handwriting A.H. 661, " which undoubtedly attracted the attention of many but the way of writing this colophon put us in doubt because it led to two conclusions that either this MS. was actually transcribed by Yaqut Musta'simi and someone else has put this colophon instead of Yaqut himself or it has been deliberately done and it was not written by Yaqut himself. However, we warn that one should be very careful in such matters. The writer had seen two MSS. of the Quran in the exhibition of the Jamia Millia, Delhi, which were exhibited there by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan and they were labelled thus : 'MS. of Quran by Yaqut Musta'simi قرآن کریم خطی یاقوت مستعصمی and MS. of Quran by Aurangzeb Alamgir قرآن کریم شاہشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر'. At that time we had simply pointed out that it was not possible to accept them as genuine MSS. But now when we find that the owner has recently published *A Concise Catalogue of Manuscripts and Mughal Official Documents* belonging to him, we regard it our duty to say something about these wrong attributions. About its compiler Mr. C.H. Shaikh, Maulvi Zafar Hasan himself says in the preface "in his literary enthusiasm the Professor undertook with great zeal the task of preparing the proposed catalogue for which I must offer my thanks to him," and the compiler

says in his introduction about the owner : " While in the preface the Khan Bahadur Saheb has very kindly given me the credit of preparing this catalogue, the real fact is that—the catalogue is, thus, mostly the work of the Khan Bahadur himself, " which means neither of them feels his responsibility for the following remarks about these two MSS. of the Quran. About the first C. H. Shaikh says : " Our MS. was examined, among others, by the late Professor D. S. Margoliouth and Sir E. Denison Ross and also by Prof. Massignon of France. I was personally present when my tutor the late Prof. Margoliouth, examined it at Romney, his residence in Boars Hill, Oxford. He was of the opinion that the Khan Bahadur's copy of the Quran transcribed by Musta'simi was decidedly far superior to those he had occasion to examine, that it was genuine, and that that Musta'simi alone could have been responsible for such an exquisite penmanship. Referring to the colophon, in which occurs the phrase (كنه مستعصى written by Musta'simi), the learned Professor remarked that evidently when this copy was transcribed the scribe was granted the title of " Yaqut " by the Caliph Musta'sim Billah. In support of this he quoted some authorities which have now unfortunately escaped my memory. " And about the other MS. he said : " The Quran transcribed by the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir. The subscription at the end bears the name of Aurangzeb as scribe and dated 1108 A.H. (1696 A.D.). The language of the subscription, which is Arabic, is grammatically faulty, but in all probability it appears to be genuine. The style of writing is excellent *Naskh*. " We, however, add here a few words about these MSS. for the information of our readers. (a) Had the colophon كنه مستعصى of the first MS. been genuine, the question of proving it to be genuine and showing it to non-Muslim experts to seek their opinion would have never arisen. In reality this colophon is written by somebody else and in quite a different style. Instead of taking the opinions of the experts mentioned above, we propose that the owner and the compiler should have compared it with Yaqut Musta'simi's MS. of the Quran in *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris Arabic No. 608 which is unanimously accepted as genuine, or compared it with the two MSS. of Quran by him at Constantinople, or they should have consulted some Egyptian scholar, who would have certainly advised them to compare it with the MS. in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* Cairo, Moritz No. 89. To prove his contention the compiler has immediately noted " this copy was transcribed before the scribe was granted the title of ' Yaqut ' by the Caliph Musta'sim Billah, " But he did not care to verify this statement from history which was so absolutely essential. We content ourselves by citing here his full name for their information :—

جمال الدين ابو الدر ر يا قوت مستعصى

Jamalu'd-Din Abu'd-Durar Yaqut Musta'simi was purchased by the Caliph Musta'sim Billah (d. A.H. 656) while he was quite young and he brought him up. His first tutor in calligraphy was Safiu'd-Din Abdu'l-

Momin Armawi, etc. etc. (*vide Shadharatu'z-Dhahab*, vol. 5, p. 443 and *Oriental College Magazine*, No. 57). We can presumably say that his title was *Abu'd-Durar*—father of pearls and not *Musta'simi* as stated above by the compiler.

As regards the second MS. attributed to Aurangzeb, we can only say that they should have at least consulted the contemporary records, i.e., *Alamgir Nama* and *Ma'āthir-i-'Alamgiri*. Both these records agree that Aurangzeb transcribed two or three MSS. of the Quran and sent them to Mecca and Medina which were neither signed nor dated, as Aurangzeb himself has written in one of his letters :—

چه بنویسم وجه بگویم خجالت و افعال این نام بید نامے گفته نانوشتن اسم برسم آن برسم
اولی و انسب من یک دوم مصحف که نوشته ام نام ننوشتہ ام تاریخ ہم نوشتن درکار نیست
اگر برائے اوسبجانہ نوشته اند علم اوحسی بکنی۔

Consequently we feel that one has to be careful in his statements regarding the celebrities of Islam on whom depend our culture and history. We have tried to be very brief in our remarks but we shall expatiate on them if necessary.

The Indo-Arab Cultural Association, Bombay :

Although this Association was founded in 1945 its inaugural meeting took place at Bombay in December, 1946 under the presidency of Mr. Tarek G. al-Yaffi, Consul-General of Lebanon, Bombay. Dr. H. F. al-Hamdani, the Secretary of the Association read a report in which he traced the early relations of the Arabs with India from the time they came to Thana, Chaul and other places around Bombay. He explained the *Aims and Objects* of this association : " The Indo-Arab Cultural Association aims at developing friendly relations and promoting cultural understanding between the Arabs and the Indians. It will foster the growth and spread of Arabic in India. With the world progressing rapidly in the direction of cultural and political unity, it is but fair that there should at least be one Institution in Bombay, one of the premier cities of India, with such a large cosmopolitan population, to promote cultural relations between the people of Arabia and India. In order, therefore, to fulfil this need of the time some enthusiastic friends, both Indians and Arab residents in India, recently met together and formed an Association, which has appropriately been named the *Indo-Arab Cultural Association*. The Association intends to arrange lectures, conversational meetings, etc., for the attainment of its aims and objects. It shall establish contact with Arab associations and academies all over the world. It shall

also keep in touch with scholars and authors engaged in Arabic studies. The Association will publish a journal for propagating the aims and objects the Association has set before itself. The name of the journal is *al-Unwa* and arrangements for its early publication are being made. The Association also intends opening a reading-room, where standard books and current Arabic periodicals, newspapers and other useful literature will be kept for the benefit of its members."

Shaikh Azari, the Poet-Historian at the Bahmani Court, Bidar :

In his *Gulzar-i-Ibrahimi* Muhammad Qasim Firishta has cited the *Bahman Nāma* of Shaikh Azari (p. 4) as one of the sources of the early Muslim Deccan history, and he has fully utilised it ; but today no trace is found of this important work.

Dr. M. Abdulla Chaghtai gave to the post-graduate students of Indian history in Poona a series of talk on Shaikh Azari ; his life and his contribution to literature and history. Firishta says that "Shaikh Azari, the poet-historian, who had come to the Deccan during the reign of Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani (d. A.H. 838), wrote the *Bahman Nāma* in verse. He was a native of Asfarain where he subsequently retired and died in A.H. 866. Before his arrival in the Deccan he had visited Mecca and Medina. Dr. M. A. Chaghtai very carefully collected the following documentary evidences about Shaikh Azari, which are reproduced here. They are not generally known even to the scholars of the Deccan history and are a very useful source of information about him. He was a contemporary of Mir Ali Sher Nawāi or Fāni (d. A.H. 996) who was the chief minister of Sultan Hussain Baiqra (d. A.H. 912) of Herat. Mir Nawāi wrote the *Majalisu'n Nafāis* containing biographical sketches of his contemporaries, which was later translated under the title of *Lataif Nama-i-Fakhri* by one, Fakhri Sultan Muhammad b. Amiri into Persian from Turkish language. It fortunately contains Azari's notice thus :—

در اسفرائین ظهور کرد و شهرش شهرت گرفت و در سن کهولت میلش جانب سلوک
افتاد بجمع مبارک رفته برسم سیر طرف هندوستان متوجه شد و بخدمت بسیار اکابر و مشائخ
مشرف گردید و همه ملوک آن ممالک مرید و مقتدی او گشتند و گویند باد شاه جوئه که والی
گلبرگه بود يك لك ز تكلف كرد اما برسم خود جهت تكلف سریر زمین نهادن هم فرمود
شیخ بان وجه سرفرویا ورد و این بیت گفت -

من ترك هند و جیفه جیبال گفته ام باد بر و ت جوئه جوینی خرم
از هندوستان برگشت و در اسفرائین گوشه اختیار کرده بطاعت مشغول شد و بعضی
کتاب مثل بحاث الدنیا و جواهر الاسرار از شیخ است و دیگر مصنفات نیز دارد و
دیوانش مشهور است و این مطلع ازوست

باز شب شد چشم من میدان گریه آب زد سبیل اشک آمد شبیخون بر سیاه خواب زد
 قبرش در اسفرائین است و خواجه اوحد مستوفی که فضائلش از شرح مستغنی است
 تاریخ وفات شیخ را "خسرو" یافته و این فقیر تاریخ و فوات مولانا طوطی ترشیزی را "خروس"
 یافت عرض که در یک سال وفات کرد ند

The other contemporary source the *Tazkirah-i-Daulat Shah Samargandi* (composed in A.H. 892) contains more details as to his real name, etc. :—

حمزه بن علی ملک الطوسی ثم البیهقی از جمله سربداران یحیی بود نسب او بمعین
 صاحب الدعوه احمد بن محمد الزحجی الهاشمی المروزی می رسید و پدر شیخ خواجه علی
 ملک در عهد سربداران در اسفرائین صاحب اختیار بود بصحبت شریف شیخ الشیوخ
 شیخ محی الدین الطوسی الغزالی مشرف شده بعد از آن بسید نعمت الله قدس سره رجوع نمود
 دو مرتبه پیاده پاسفر حج کرد - شیخ بهنگام جوانی بشعر و شاعری مشغول شد و همواره مدح
 سلاطین و امراء کفایتی چنانچه شاه رخ سلطان او را وعده حکم ملک الشعرائی فرمود در
 اثناء آن حال نسیم فقر و عالم تحقیق بر ریاض خاطر عاطر او وزید -

The above quotation from the *Lataif Nama-i-Fākhri* and the one found in the *Tarikh-i-Habibu's-Siyyar* (vol. III., pt. iii; p. 173) are almost identical and therefore need not be repeated. We are here particularly concerned with the Deccan, and therefore we take this opportunity to quote at length the original words of Firishṭa (vol. I., pp. 325-26) as they are not found anywhere else :—

سالك مسالك طریقت شیخ اسفرائینی که در آن اوان ملازم رکاب سلطان احمد شاه بود
 قصیده ها در مدح شاه و تعریف شهر و عمارات گفته جائزه لائق و فائق یافت
 و حسب الحکم سلطان در گفتن بهمن نامه شروع کرده جویداستان آن شهریار رسید
 کتاب را بنظر بادشاه در آورده طلب رخصت ولایت نمود بادشاه گفت مرا از
 فوت سید محمد گیسو در از کلفتی عظیم روی نموده وصال تو رافع سواد غم و الم است
 مپسند که بفراق تو نیز مبتلا گردم شیخ چون این قسم التفات از سلطان دید
 بودن در هندوستان را بخود قرا داده فرزند ان را از ولایت طلب نمود اتفاقا در آن ایام
 قصر دارالامارة باتمام رسید و شیخ این دو بیت گفت -

حیذا قصر مشید که ز فرط عظمت آسمان شده از پایه این درگاه است
 آسمان هم نتوان گفت که ترک ادب است قصر سلطان جهان احمد بهمن شاه است

و ملا شریف الدین مازندرانی که از مریدان شاه نعمت الله بود بخوشنویسی مشهور و معروف زمان آنرا بخط جلی نوشت و سنگتراشان تلنگی که در تقلید سحر آفرینند آنرا در سنگ بزرگ کنده بالای دروازه نشاندند چنانچه روزی چشم شاه بران افتاده از شهزاده علاءالدین پرسید که این شعر کیست گفت از نتایج طبع شیخ آذریست شاه را خوش آمده شهزاده فرصت یافت و بعرض رسانید که شیخ بمقتضای حب الوطن من الایمان اراده ولایت دارد و میگوید که حضرت اگر رخصت فرمائید نیمه ثواب حج اکبر که کرده ام پیشکش مینماید و شاه ازین معنی بیش از پیش شگفته گردیده در ساعت باحضار شیخ فرمان داد و بخوانی حکم کرد که چهل هزار تنگه سعید که بر تنگه یک توله قهره باشد جهت تسبیح حاضر سازد و چون چشم شیخ بر آن زرافتاد گفت لایحمل عطایا کم الا مطایا کم شاه بخندید و گفت بیست هزار تنگه نیز جهت خرج راه و وجه کرایه حاضر گردانند و چون وقت کار رسیده بود در همان مجلس خلعت خاصه و پنج غلام هندی عنایت فرموده رخصت معاودت ولایت ارزانی داشت و گویا این دو بیت در شان آن شاه گفته شده (رباعی) و شیخ آذری بنا بر آنکه حین وداع در حضور شاه عهد کرده بود که مادام الحیات در گفتن بهمن نامه خود را معاف ندارد هر آینه در خراسان تا در قید حیات بود برخی از اوقات شریف را بگفتن بهمن نامه صرف می نمود و بعد هر سال آنچه گفته می شد آنرا بدار اخلافه دکن میفرستاد القصه بهمن نامه دکنی تا داستان سلطان هایون شاه بهمنی از شیخ آذریست و بعده ملا نظیری و ملا سامعی و دیگر شعرا تا انقراض دولت بهمنیه بر کرام که توفیق یافته اند داستان و حکایات شاهان دیگر را لا حق نموده در سلك نظم کشیده از ملحقات بهمن نامه شیخ آذری گردانیده اند بلکه بعضی بی انصافان بعضی از ابیات خطبه را تغییر داده تمام آن کتاب را بنام خود ساخته اند لیکن از اختلاف البته شعر میتوان دانست که تمام آن کتاب را شاعر نسبت و چون سخن بدین جا رسید لازم گشت که برخی از احوال شیخ آذری درین کتاب ثبت نماید و آن اینست که او از مشاهیر شعرای زمان خود بوده بجدت فهم و جودت ذکا اشتهار داشت چنانچه وقتی با اتفاق شیخ صدر الدین رواس (۹) در مشهدی مقدس رضویه علی مشرفه آلاف الثناء والتحیه بدیدن الخ بیک مرزارفت میرزا اول از شیخ صدر الدین پرسید که شمار داس (۹) جیس یار دات بتا نیدا و گفت رواحی بعادیم (۹) مرزا فرمود که شما آنهم نبوده آید چه رواحی در کلام عرب نیا مده بعد از آن شیخ آذری پرسید که آذری چه نوع تخلص شماست شیخ گفت قیودر ماه آذر متولد شده بنا بر آن آذری تخلص کرده است مرزا فرمود شما شاعر پیشه نبوده آید آن آذر بضم ذال است نه بفتح شیخ

در بدیه گفت که ذال ماه آذر سالها در مقام ذل و خواری گزرانید و پشتمش دو تا گشت
نزدیک بد آن شده بود که پشت ذکرش واقع شود اما در مقام شعور و ادراک آمده
قام گشت

The literary compilations of Shaikh Azari are many but the well-known among them are 1. *سمی الصفا* which he has composed in the Haram of Mecca and it deals with the principles of Hajj ; 2. *مناجاة الاسرار* which contains proverbs and quotations, etc., one MS. of which is in the British Museum ; (p. 43) ; (3) *طغرای همایون* (4) *مصابی الفرائد* are noted by Daulat Shah and Habibu's-Siyyar ; (6) *دیوان شیخ* Collection of his Poems : one MS. is in the Bibliothéque St. Petersburg No. 399 and Copenhagen Cata : p. 40 ; *Bahman Nama* as noted above in the account of Firishta. According to the *Khizana-i-Amra* (p. 21) one *Mathnawi Miraat* by Shaikh Azari existed.

The chronogram of Shaikh Azari's death composed by Khwaja Fakhru'd-Din Auhad Mustaufi is quoted by Dault Shah Samarqandi (p. 443) :—

دریغ آذری شیخ زمانه که مصباح حیاتش گشت (؟) بی ضو
چراغ دل بمفتاح حیاتش بانواع حقائق داشت پر تو
چو اومانند خسرو بود در شعر از آن تاریخ موتش گشت "خسرو"

The author of the *Habibu's-Siyyar* has given the chronogram of Maulana Tarshizi's death (vol. III, pt. iii, p. 173) which was actually composed by Mir Ali Sher Nawai, the great minister, and the same applies to Azari's death as it also occurred in the same year :—

فصیح زمان طوطی آن شاعری که بودش بدر معانی عروسی
چو طوطی برفت این عجب طرفه بود که تاریخ شد فوت او را "خروسی"

In brief, we have been able to trace almost all details of Shaikh Azari's life and his literary compilations for which we had so far depended upon the brief account of Firishta which mainly dealt with his activities in the Deccan during his short stay there. Besides the above-mentioned authorities, the *Haft Iqlim*, *Riyazu'sh-Shu'ra*, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, etc., will also be helpful. Some years ago the *Lataif Nama-i-Fakhri* was published by Sayyid Abdulla in the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, in many instalments which contained the above quotation from the same and other useful information.

DELHI

Cultural activities :

The Asian Relations Conference has attracted a great deal of notice. A number of Muslim delegates and observers from various Muslim countries attended the conference. The Indian Muslims, except a couple of delegates and a few volunteers of the Jami'at 'Ulamā-i-Hind, boycotted the conference. The Muslims of Delhi, however, contacted the distinguished Muslim visitors who came to attend the conference.

Egyptians :

Three Egyptians, M. Mustafā Mo'min, M. Taqī-u'd-dīn al-Ṣulḥ and Dr. 'Abd-u'l-Wahhāb 'Azzām Bey came to Delhi on this occasion. M. Mustafā Mo'min is a leader of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement. It is understood that he met a number of Muslim students and the Rajah Ṣāhib of Maḥmudabad who is closely associated with the Muslim Students Movement in India, and it is likely that the Muslim Students Federation (India) will seek affiliation with the Muslim Brotherhood. M. Taqī-u'd-dīn al-Ṣulḥ gave an interesting lecture on the Arab movement.

Dr. 'Abd-u'l-Wahhāb 'Azzām Bey is a nephew of 'Azzām Pāshā, the Secretary-General of the Arab League. The learned doctor is the Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the Fuad I University Egypt. He is a scholar of rare accomplishments. Besides being an author and poet of no mean degree in his own language, he is a consummate scholar of Persian and Turkish as well. He speaks these languages fluently. He also has considerable knowledge of Urdu, though he does not speak it. The tablet which he has presented to Iqbāl's tomb has the following verses inscribed on it :—

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| عربی یدی لروضک زهرا | ذائخار بروضه و اعتزاز |
| کلمات تضمنت کل معنی | من دیار الاسلام فی انجام |
| بلسان القرآن خطت فیه | نفحات التزیل والا عجاز |
| فابقبنا علی ضالۃ قدری | فہی فی الحق ار مغان الحجاز |

These lines are his own composition. It is but fitting that 'Azzām Bey should be the bearer of this tribute, because he is an erudite scholar of Iqbāl whom he has tried to popularise in Arab countries through translation, articles, lectures and broadcasts. It was the love of Iqbāl which made him study Urdu. Dr. 'Azzām Bey's visit to India may lead to important consequences as he intends to propose to the Egyptian Government to send one or two visiting professors of Arabic to Indian universities.

Iranians :

The Iranian Delegation, which had really come on official business with the Government of India, also attended the conference as its dates synchronised with their visit. Their leader was H.E. 'Alī Asghar Hikmat who was Minister of Education in Iran at one time. One of the members of the Delegation was Dr. Ṣadiqī, a litterateur and critic and a professor at the University of Teheran. It was a rare pleasure to meet these gentlemen, as their hearts seemed to be full of the love of Islam and feelings of brotherhood. After a brief indifference towards Islam in certain sections of Iranian society during the thirties of this century there has again set in a great reaction in favour of Islam and what it stands for. An index of this is the Anjuman-i-Tablighāt-i-Islam at Qum which has been publishing, for some time, Islamic literature and training Muslim missionaries. Dr. Ṣadiqī gave to the writer a copy of *Masādiqat-u'l-ikhwān*, a book of traditions bearing on the relations which should subsist among the Muslims as neighbours and friends. A small and attractive edition of 'Umar Khayyām's *Rubā'iyāt* has also been brought out in Iran. A remark of Dr. Ṣadiqī, which is typical of his feelings, deserves to be reproduced here. "The Indian Muslims are attached to Iran with bonds of love and friendship" said the writer. "My dear friend," replied the Doctor, "what is the use of your saying in India that you love the Muslims of Iran and our saying in Iran that we love the Indian Muslims? We must give a concrete form to these feelings and convert them into institutions."

Indonesians :

The Indonesian Delegation was led by Hājī Sālīm, the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, before the advent of Sulṭān Shāriar. The Delegation was representative of various political parties. The majority belonged to the Muslim party. Hājī Sālīm, an elderly and unassuming gentleman, in his native costume consisting of a shirt, a sheet and trousers, of short stature, with a Mongolian beard, was a remarkable person indeed. The writer of this report heard him speak faultless English, French and Dutch, and his speech at a function in the Anglo-Arabic College was full of quotations from the holy scriptures. Another leader Dr. Abū Ḥanīfah was also full of enthusiasm and like other members of his party, was keen on establishing brotherly relations with other Muslim countries.

The Afghān Delegation :

The Afghān Delegation was led by Dr. Abdu'l-Majīd, the Rector of the Kabul University and a well-known professor of medicine in the Faculty of Medicine of the same University.

The Central Asian Republics :

Some of the Central Asian Republics also sent their delegates, who, in spite of what one hears to the contrary, were by no means devoid of Muslim feeling. When a delegate was asked point-blank "Do you still have the feelings of Islamic brotherhood?," he replied in no unequivocal terms, "Why not? Are we not Muslims?"

A Gift from Tashkent :

The *academie* at Tashkent has presented to the Department of History in the University of Delhi a portfolio consisting of large-sized photographs of the Islamic buildings in the city and its vicinity. The photographs are exceedingly well done, and reproduce the architectural features of these buildings remarkably. These photographs show the close affinity between Central-Asian and Indo-Muslim architecture. Another portfolio, which has also been presented by the same institution contains photographic reproductions of Uzbek miniature paintings from a unique manuscript of Sharf-u'd-dīn Yazdī's *Zafar-nāmah*. The portfolio has a preface and comments by Professor A. A. Semenow. Another gift of equal importance is a catalogue of manuscripts in the Academy Library at Tashkent bearing on Indo-Muslim History. The catalogue is scientific and fully descriptive. The list of the titles appearing in the catalogue is given below:—

Tārikh-i-Firūz Shāhi by Diyā-u'd-dīn Baranī.

Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi by Yahyā Sahrindī.

Wāqī'āt-i-Zahir-u'd-Din Moḥammad Bābur (Babur's Memoirs).

Humāyūn Nāmah, anonymous, the list does not give any reference to other catalogues.

Akbar-Nāmah by Abu'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī.

A'in-i-Akbari by Abu'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī.

Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh by Badāyūnī.

Tabaqāt-i-Akbar Shāhi by Nizām-u'd-dīn.

Jahāngir-Nāmah—memoirs of Jahāngir.

• *Tārikh Salīm Shāhi*—same.

Iqbāl-nāmah-i-Jahāngiri by Muḥammad Sharīf.

Padshāh Nāmah by 'Abd-u'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī.

Zafar-Nāmah-i-Shāh Jahāni by Abū Ṭālib Kalīm.

'Alamgir Nāmah by Munshī Muḥammad Kāzim.

Mir'at-u'l-'Alam by Bakhtāwar Khān.

Ma'āthir-i-'Alamgiri by Mustā'id Khān.

Tarkhān Nāmah by Shahīd Jamal.

Tārikh-i-Firishṭah.

Tārikh-i-Haqqi by 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī.

Mukhtasar Latif by Rūp Narāyan.
Khulāsāt-u't-Tawārikh by Sujān Rā'i Munshī.
Jāmi'-u't-Tawārikh by Rashid-u'd-dīn Faḍl-ullah.
Raudat-u's-Safā by Muḥammad bin Khāwind Shāh *alias* Mirkhwand.
Habib-u's-Siyyar by Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn bin Humām-u'd-dīn *alias* Khwand-amir.
Tārikh-i-Muḥammadi by Muḥammad bin Bihāmid Khān.
Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh by Muḥammad al-Ḥaqqī a'sh-Shirāzī.
Nigaristān by ibn Muḥammad Aḥmad.

Brochures :

Several papers were contributed to the conference by various authors, one of these by Dr. I. H. Qureshi, deals with the cultural relations between the Middle-East and India.

A Bibliography of Asiatic Countries .

A contribution of great merit 'Books on Asia' (Royal 8 vo, pp. 111) by Mr. I. H. Baqai, Assistant Registrar for the Faculty of Arts in the University of Delhi. It gives a list, with brief descriptions of books on all the countries of Asia and the Pacific Ocean. This small book should be on the desk of every student of Asiatic affairs. He also published in the *India Quarterly* an annotated bibliography on Iran.

The Indo-Iranian Standing Committee :

The Indo-Iranian Association and the Indo-Iranian Standing Committee are being reorganised, and it is expected that the Government of India will put the committee on a sound financial basis. It is proposed to build up a library on Iranian subjects and also start a journal. It has not yet been possible to give a practical shape to these proposals because of the political uncertainty and activity at the Centre.

Afghanistan Today :

The Journal of the Indian Institute of International Affairs has an illuminating article on 'Afghanistan Today' by Count Joel de Croze, a Frenchman who has recently returned after a study tour of that country. Another interesting article in the same journal is on Iranian oil by Mr. Raj Narain Gupta.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

In Memoriam :

(SHIFAU'L MULK) Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Akhonzada, the founder-Principal of the Tibbia Habibia College, Dacca, the only one of its kind in the whole of Bengal, is now no more in the land of the living. He died at the age of seventy of heart failure on Sunday, the 23rd of February, 1947, at 3 A.M. at his Dacca residence in the Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Road. His funeral prayer was held in the premises of the Shahi Mosque, Lal Bagh, Dacca, at about 11-30 A.M. and was led by His Holiness Pirji Sahib of the Dacca Ashrafu'l 'Ulum Madrasa. At the most conservative computation, the congregation consisted of 15,000 souls and was represented by the people of all walks of life and persuasion. The citizens of Dacca have not within their living memory witnessed a bigger funeral assembly. The dead-body of the departed great was buried alongside the tomb of his father within the compound of Azimpura, Daira Sharif, Dacca.

His ancestry and early life :

Hailing originally from Yagisthan which now forms part and parcel of modern Afghanistan, his father Mawlana Muhammad Shah Akhonzada of happy memory settled down at Dacca in the early fifties of the 19th century. Besides being an excellent calligraphist, an orator, an author and a Persian poet of some renown, he was a spiritual guide of considerable fame and reputation and counted disciples not in hundreds but in thousands all over Bengal and Assam. Such was the background against which the late-lamented Hakim Sahib was brought up. And in every way he proved to be a chip of the old block.

His career :

Having completed his Arabic, Persian and Tibbi education in the Upper India, he started his practice in 1904 in his own native town of Dacca. As was expected, his reputation as a successful Hakim soon spread far and wide both in the Province and outside. As a man of versatile genius and varied activities he threw himself into the vortex of Indian politics along with his *alter ego*, the much-lamented Nawab Sir Salimullah Bahadur of Dacca, K.C.S.I., G.C.S.I., and that soon after the partition of Bengal had been a *fait accompli* in 1905. As a joint Secretary of the Muslim Confederacy, the former counterpart of the All-India Muslim League of which Nawab Salimullah Bahadur of Dacca was the founder-Secretary, he made his mark in Indian politics.

His greatness as a Tibbi practitioner can be gauged from this that he was appointed a member of the Enquiry Committee of Tibbia Education in Bengal by the Bengal Government as far back as 1924. Not only this. The fact that the late Kakim Habibur Rahman Khan Akhunzada was one of the three Hakims selected to sit on the Advisory Committee recently appointed by the Government of India in the Department of Health to enquire into the future of the indigenous systems of medicine; the Tibbi and the Ayurvedic is a further recognition of his services in the domain of the Tibbi Education in India. But alas! the learned Hakim Sahib is now no more in our midst to serve on that august body to benefit his countrymen by his rich and valuable experiences. Further, he had been the Vice-President of the State Faculty of Tibb in Bengal until his death. As a mark of their appreciation of the very great services rendered to the cause of the Tibbi system of medicine in India, Government conferred upon him the distinction of 'Shifau'l Mulk'—a distinction which he so richly and eminently deserved and which he laterly so unceremoniously renounced when called upon to do so by our beloved Qaid-i-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, may Allah long spare him unscathed for the cause of our great Muslim nation. This is not all. He was a keen and devoted student of History and Indian antiquities. As a recognition to his unique contributions to these branches of human knowledge, he had the privilege of being selected a member of the Historical Records Commission, Government of India and that not once but for several years together. Habibur Rahman's collections of coins and epigraphs that have found a permanent niche in the Dacca Museum—the only museum of the East Bengal and Assam—shall ever immortalize his memory. Besides being a poet of considerable renown, he was a prolific writer and had to his credit a number of very important works medical as well as historical both in Urdu and Arabic of which (1) *Asudagan-i Dacca* (on the tombs of Dacca, published from Dacca in 1946), (2) *al-Fariq* (a rare Tibbi treatise on the very nice and subtle distinctions existing as between the very complex and complicated diseases, published from Dacca in 1322/1904), and (3) *Hayat-i Suqrat* (on the life of Socrates) have been published. Of these, *al-Fariq* was so popular to and well received by the Tibbi world that late Haziq al-Mulk Hafiz Muhammad Ajmal Khan of happy and immortal memory of Delhi as a token of his appreciation for the work purchased as many as fifty copies of the book for the free distribution amongst his pupils in the Delhi Tibbia College. Of his unpublished works namely (1) *Masajid-i Dacca* (Mosques of Dacca), (2) *Shuarai Dacca* (Poets of Dacca), (3) *Thalatha Ghassala* (a collection of Hakim Sahib's 16 radio talks on "Dacca fifty years back," 20 radio talks on "The Antiquities of Dacca" and 12 radio talks on "The Historical Buildings of Dacca") and (4) *Bengal's Contributions to the Arabic and the Persian Literatures*, the last remains his masterpiece. These books when published are sure to throw a flood of light on the Islamic History, Culture and Civilization of India in general and Bengal in particular.

As the Founder-Editor of the now defunct *al-Mashriq*, the first Urdu Monthly of Dacca which saw the light of the day as far back as 1906, he proved his mettle as a forceful writer and a journalist of no mean order.

As a most outstanding litterateur, he presided over the deliberations of the Purba Banga Muslim Shahitta Parishad held in 1927 and delivered on the occasion an edifying and thought-provoking address which shall always remain an object of marvel and admiration to all those who will care to read it.

The Municipality of Dacca, the biggest of its kind in the whole of the province paid due homage to the talent and genius of our revered Hakim Sahib even in his life-time by christening one of her very important thoroughfares after his name.

Hakim Sahib's private library is one of the richest of its kind in the whole of India so far as its manuscripts are concerned and contains among others as many as one thousand very rare and valuable manuscripts. Furthermore, he leaves behind him a rare collection of Mughal armours, crockeries and raiments which will soon be placed for exhibition in a house specially selected for the purpose. The library is to be a proud adjunct to the Library of the University of Dacca and that by a will unexecuted nevertheless solemn and sacred.

Hakim Sahib was a gentleman of ineffable charms, magnetic personality, proverbial hospitality, sturdy independence, rare humility and inexhaustible humour. Whoever came in contact with him he could not fail to be impressed by the geniality of his temperament and the urbanity of his manners. He was the veritable *ma-bap* (parent) of the poor and the helpless for whose benefit he maintained a charitable dawakhana (dispensary) at his own house.

Revered Hakim Sahib leaves behind him his widow, two daughters and five sons, the eldest, Hakim Irtidaur Rahman who now succeeds him as the Principal of the Tibbia Habibia College, Dacca, and a large number of friends all over India amongst whom are included Nawab Sadar Yar Jung Bahadur, Dr. Allama Habibur Rahman Khan Shirwani of Habib Gunj, Aligarh, Dr. Allama Sayyid Sulaiman Nadavi, His Holiness Hazrat Khwaja Hasan Nizami of Delhi to mourn his loss. At the sad demise of the Hakim Sahib, the nation has sustained a loss at once inestimable and irreparable. May Allah grant the departed soul peace and blessings—**Amin.**

A Doctorate of Philosophy :

The University of Dacca has recently conferred upon Mr. Muhammad Ishaq, M.A. (Dac.), a Lecturer in the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, the degree of 'Doctor of Philosophy' for his thesis on "India's Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature." The thesis was examined by a Board of Examiners consisting of Dr. F. Krenkow of Cambridge, Professor A. Guillaume of Oxford and Dr. Allama Sayyid

Sulaiman Nadawi, every one of whom has spoken very highly of the valuable work done by Mr. Ishaq to whom we offer our heartiest felicitations.

It will not be out of place to say in this connection that Dr. Ishaq is the second man to obtain the Doctor of Philosophy from the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Dacca University, during the professorship of Dr. S. M. Hossain, the Head of the Department, the first being Dr. Raza Ali Mirza, M.A. (Dac.), who obtained his Doctorate of Philosophy in 1938 on "The Reconstruction of Sukari's Kitab al-Lusus." Thanks to the sure and inspiring guidance of Prof. S. M. Hossain, many more Doctorates are now in the offing.

Tafsir Class at Dacca :

His Holiness Mufti Din Muhammad of Dacca, one of the greatest Muslim divines of this part of India has been for the last two years holding a regular Tafsir Class in the Cathedral Mosque of Chawkbazar, Dacca after 'Isha prayer every day. Unlike other lectures, the lectures of the learned Mawlana are attracting ever-increasing number of audience who can be counted not in terms of hundreds but of thousands upon thousands. The lectures are delivered with the help of a loud speaker and as many as six microphones, and have been exercising very healthy and salutary effects on those for whom they are meant. Thanks to the persuasive and eloquent delivery of the Mawlana, Dacca is now going dry and her race-course is getting emptier day by day. And the non-Muslim section of the audience is being gradually attracted to Islam with a magnetic iron as it were. The rest of India may imitate Dacca with profit sure and certain.

A. S.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

SHAIKH MUHAMMAD ASHRAF, the well-known publisher of Lahore, has recently brought out a number of books which may be mentioned here. In *Muslim Contributions to Geography*, which contains articles published in the *Islamic Culture* Mr. Nafis Ahmad, Professor of Geography at the Islamia College, Calcutta, sets out to evaluate the share which the geographers of Medieval Islam had in the advancement of geographical knowledge and thought. The author has drawn upon a large number of primary and secondary sources of information, both Eastern and Western, which he uses with discrimination. As a result, the author has succeeded in producing a useful introduction to the works of Muslim geographers. Besides making a general survey of the subject, Professor Nafis Ahmad has chapters on the progress of Cartography and Astrono-

mical and Mathematical Geography among the Muslims. Much of the ground covered is familiar to the students of the subject ; but the merit of the book lies in the fact that it brings together in one place a mass of relevant material which was hitherto scattered and which is here explained and evaluated with sympathetic understanding in terms of modern geography.

The other works that have come from the same publishing house are : *Muslim Thought and its Source* by Syed Muzaffar-ud-Din Nadvi (a reprint); *Meet Mr. Jinnah* by A. A. Raoof, in a revised edition ; and *Muslim Contributions to Science and Culture* by M. Abdur Rahman Khan. The last-named booklet reproduces two articles with certain additions which originally appeared in the *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XVI. It came to us as a news to learn from the opening sentence of the Introduction of this booklet that "the human race built up its civilization some six thousand years ago on the banks of the *Shatt al-'Arab*."* As a matter of fact, the *Shatt al-'Arab*, i.e., the river formed by the united streams of the Euphrates and the Tigris did not exist in the times the author has in mind ; it came into existence at a later period by the silting up of the northern part of the Persian Gulf.

'Arafāt :

Shaikh Muhammad Asad, who edited *Islamic Culture* for some time, has started 'Arafāt : a Monthly Critique of Muslim Thought, publishing it from "Fairview," Dalhousie, (Panjab). Mr. Asad believes that the Muslim Society is in the throes of a crisis, which may make or unmake Islam's validity as a 'practical proposition' for many centuries to come. The Muslim world, according to him, is in a state of transition and no power on earth can prevent her from changing. But the Muslims are still free to determine the direction which this change should take : it is up to them to decide whether they shall build their future on the real values of Islam or become slavish camp-followers of Western civilization. Mr. Asad further believes that Islam and the conventions of Muslim society are not necessarily identical, and that the survival of Islam does not depend on maintaining the *status quo ante*. The erstwhile simplicity and reasonableness of the Shariah have been buried under a forest of

*A reference to any modern work on the History of World Civilization or World History (e.g., Flenley and Weech's, on the very first cover-page) will show that various nations of the world were sufficiently far advanced in civilization as early as 4000 B.C., that is to say nearly 6000 years ago. The Nile, the Euphrates and the Tigris valleys were the seats of human civilization, and the banks of these rivers were dotted with flourishing cities engaged in commerce and trade utilizing navigation of the rivers to transport the produce of their extensive agriculture and industries.

The name *Shatt al-'Arab* is no doubt a much later innovation ; but what is meant by it in the work referred to is the river system that later developed into the 'Shatt al-'Arab'

subjective deductions, propounded by many generations of jurists and scholastics, who did not claim finality for their opinions. Many of these opinions were conditioned by the spirit and experience of an age vastly different from ours. The *Ijtihād* of the old Ulama, therefore, cannot be binding on us. We have a right to go back ourselves direct to the Naṣṣ of the Quran and the Sunnah for guidance.

Mr. Asad, accordingly, addresses himself to people who are not afraid of heart-searching. To such people he offers 'Arafāt as his personal contribution to the revival of Muslim thought. In order to make a uniform approach to the problems before him, Mr. Asad has felt constrained to exclude for the time being all contributions from outside and to reserve 'Arafāt for the exposition of his own views, so that his readers may not be confused and bewildered by a variety of attempted solutions. The editor is, therefore, the sole contributor to his Monthly, which is filled by his facile pen from beginning to end. He does not claim finality for his views, which are offered for what they are worth—to be criticized, accepted or rejected. Three issues of 'Arafāt have so far come to our notice, and taken together they provide much food for thought.

SH. I.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

SHAH ALAM II & HIS COURT,
*edited by Pratul C. Gupta, M.A.,
Ph.D. Published by S. C. Sarkar &
Sons, Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rs. 6.*

IN our columns, we have had the pleasure of reviewing Dr. Pratul C. Gupta's book entitled, "The Last Peshwa & The English Commissioners." Now Professor Pratul C. Gupta has edited, Antoine Louis Henri Polier's, "A Narrative of the Transactions at the Court of Delhy from the year 1771 to the Present Time."

Of late scholars seem to have evinced keen interest in the life and work of Antoine Louis Henri Polier by contributing papers to the Indian Historical Records Commission as well as the Indian History Congress Proceedings. Professor Pratul C. Gupta himself has contributed a paper on the career of Antoine Louis Henri in India, now published in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress Session Annamalai University, which forms part II of his valuable introduction to the book under review.

Polier's name is not familiar to students of Indian history, although some of his contributions are fairly well known.

Polier's career begins under Forde and Carnac in Behar, and about the end of 1761 he was transferred to Bengal—so saying the Professor gives an account of his life upto 1789, when Polier returned to Europe, married two years later and settled down near Avignon. On 9th February, 1795, he was murdered. Thus came to an abrupt end the career of Polier.

Though by profession an engineer, Polier took great interest in the field of Indian history and literature. He was fond of collecting valuable manuscripts. When in 1784, the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded in Calcutta, Polier became one of its earliest members. Although not residing in Calcutta, he showed remarkable interest in the work of the Society, by occasionally reading papers and communicating articles written by others. On his return to Europe he presented his collection of Vedas to the British Museum. Such was the career of this engineer-historian.

Shah Alam was the Emperor of Hindustan. The provinces of Kara and Allahabad yielded to him a revenue of about 27 lakhs per annum. Let us see what another contemporary of Polier has to say about the character of Shah Alam. Referring to Shah Alam, Verelst writes as follows.

"His abilities are rather below mediocrity, and his character seems rather calculated for private life than a throne. He is religious as a man; affectionate as a father; and humane as a master; but as prince he is weak, indolent and irresolute, and easily swayed by the counsels of self-interested men." The author mentions the fact that the death of the old minister Najib-ud-daulah had also increased the Emperor's anxiety. The author is right, for Najib-ud-daulah was a man of sterling character. In support of our statement we quote what the contemporary writer has to say about the character and faithfulness of Najib-ud-daulah. "As a man, and a

prince, he is perhaps the only example in Hindustan of at once a great and good character. He raised himself from the command of fifty horse to his present grandeur, entirely by his superior valour, integrity and strength of genius, experience and abilities have supplied the want of letters and education; and the native nobleness and goodness of his heart have amply made amends for the defects of his birth and family. He is a strict lover of justice and a most faithful subject to his master and has long been the sole support of the royal family at Delhi." (*Vide* Verelst "A View of the Rise & Progress & Present State of the English Government in Bengal" letter No. XXIV dated 28th March, 1768, page 104). No wonder the death of such a faithful servant should have shocked Shah Alam

Shah Alam left Allahabad on 13th April, 1771, and was accompanied by Sir Robert Barker and Shuja-ud-daulah to the frontier. Polier, the author of the manuscript, takes up the story from this point and brings it down to the expedition of Abdul Ahad against the Sikhs in 1779.

Polier has written his story from his personal observation and information which he collected from others, though he had no access to state papers. We fully concur with the opinion of Professor Pratul C Gupta when he says, "perhaps the chief value of the work lies in the fact that it is the work of a contemporary who had direct knowledge of the events he was writing about. He was supplying materials for his friend's book and could write without fear and favour." Although the story is sad, yet it does not lack in interest. Events marking the end of the Moghul Empire follow one another in quick succession that appear not only useful to the specialist but fascinating to the general reader.

Indeed Polier's character-sketch of Shah Alam, Prince Mirza Jawan Bakht, Mirza Farkhunda Bakht, is not only full of interest but also arrests one's attention; it portrays a faithful picture which only an eye-witness could describe with such vigour and details.

The book has notes and appendices, which should prove very useful to readers.

Dr. Pratul Gupta deserves our best compliments for the pains he has taken to place before the public this remarkable document of a remarkable man which has never been published before.

K.S.L.

OUR HERITAGE BY HUMAYUN KABIR, published by the National Information & Publications, Ltd, Bombay, 1946. Pages 134, Price Rs. 4.

PROFESSOR Humayun Kabir needs no introduction to our readers. As an author, thinker and a politician, he has earned a reputation.

The book under review is divided into three parts. The first part entitled "The Aryan Synthesis" deals with such topics as, "Unity in Diversity—Geographical Influences—Social—Political Interactions—The Kathak—Religion & Philosophy."

Part II under the title "Medieval Reconciliation" deals with "The Hindustani Way—Economics & Art & Modes of Outlook."

Part III has eight subheadings such as "In the Melting Pot—The Bifurcation—Geographical-Nationality—The Conflict—Eternal versus Momentary, Renaissance & Revivalism."

In this short review, it is not possible to deal with this interesting book at length. The one cardinal theme over which the whole thesis is based, is the "Unity & Continuity of Indian Culture." The author has given an interpretation of the Indian culture from the earliest times to the present turmoil—an historical analysis of India's heritage.

We welcome this timely publication. The book is well written and readable.

K.S.L.

PHILOLOGICA VON H. RITTER, MAULANA GALALADDIN RUMI UND SEIN KREIS, published in *Der Islam* (Walter De Gruyter & Co.), 1940, Berlin.

THIS is a reprint of an article on Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi and his circle which Dr. Helmut Ritter contributed to the German Journal, *Der Islam*. The sources of Maulana's life are discussed at length. The *Masnavis* of Maulana's son Sultan Walad, the famous works of Sipdhsalar Faridun and Aftaki are taken into account. The writer thinks of great value the exhaustive study of Badi'azzaman : Maulana Jalaluddin Muhammad Mashhur ba-Maulawai (Teheran 1937).

Maulana Rumi has exercised such a tremendous influence on the mystical and cultural life of Islam that it is worthwhile to study the soil on which his life has grown. Dr Ritter believes that the conversion of the Maulana to the inner life of mysticism was not suddenly brought about by the strange appearance of the wandering derwish Shamsaddin Muhammad Tabrizi. The Derwish may have only awakened the forces that were already working in him. We gladly recommend this essay to the admirers of the Maulana and to the students of mystic life.

S V.

AHMAD GHAZZALI'S APHORIS- MEN UBER DIE LIEBE HER- AUSGEGEBEN VON HELMUT RITTER, Istanbul—1942 (German).

سوانح تصنیف احمد غزالی بصحیح ۵ ریت
استانبول ۱۹۴۲

THIS is a little book of aphorisms on love edited with a brief but illuminating introduction in German by Dr. Helmut Ritter. The editor is convinced that the work is of rare originality. It tries to reveal experiences and feelings which defy all expression. We know what love has been to mystics. Not to speak of Plato and Plotinus even the father of Logic, Aristotle, gives to love a metaphysical status. The mystics of Islam were consumed by a divine passion

and love has been a decisive force of their life and thought. Naturally enough it has assumed most heterogeneous forms. Ritter justly points out that the constant vacillation between divine and earthly love which is characteristic of the mystic is due to the nature of mystical outlook. The beauty that awakens passion in the mystic is not taken as an individual attribute but as a super-individual ideal reality in the platonic sense.

Dr. Ritter most emphatically distinguishes the mystical vision of Ghazzali from the romantic theories of Ibn Daud and Ibn Hazm. "For Ibn Hazm love is only a human relation determined by a characteristic feeling, a sociological phenomenon." Ahmad Ghazzali's world is different. His is not the world of society but the intimate world of the soul. Love here completely disengages itself from the concrete personality of the beloved and his presence or absence becomes of no moment. The lover longs to lose all that he can call his, to become only the object and expression of his will. Ahmad Ghazzali's work is indeed of value to understand the love that is divine.

S. V.

QURAN AND CHARACTER BUILD- ING by Dr. Mir Valuddin. Published by Idara-e-Ishaat-i Islamiat, Hyderabad-Deccan—1944 (Urdu).

قرآن اور سیرت سازی ڈاکٹر میر ولی الدین
(ادارہ اشاعت اسلامیات) حیدر آباد۔ دکن ۱۹۴۴

CONTENTS. Preface 1. Axioms, 2. Prayer and call for help, 3. Virtue is knowledge, 4. Application of axioms; 5. Quran and Character Building; 6. Correction of Thought; 7. Law of Attraction and Character Building; 8. Quran and the treatment of fear, 9. Quran and the treatment of sorrow; 10. Quran and the treatment of anger; 11. Quranic conception of successful life.

RELIGION cannot be divorced from life and this very close association of religion with life has led pragmatists to see its value and truth only in

the way it affects it. Dr. Mir Valiuddin has been deeply moved by the religious craving and in Islam he has found the religion that the soul of man needs in its sufferings and travails. It has always been the crucial problem of religious life to find out the way to strive with success against the overwhelming onslaught of passions. Profoundly conscious of the evil that dwells in the psychological forces of passions Dr. Valiuddin has aimed at revealing to us the Quranic

light and the Quranic path. We only regret that the voice of the preacher has often stifled the restraint and sobriety of the thinker and rhetoric and poetry has been allowed more space than is becoming in a philosopher. But as it is Dr. Valiuddin's work is unusually rich in information and is full of religious fervour which is really rare today.

S. V.

BOOKS, PERIODICALS, ETC., RECEIVED

1. *Muslim Contribution to Science & Culture* by Prof. Mohd. A. R. Khan ; published by Sh. Mohd. Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore ; Rs. 1-8-0.
2. *The Turning Point of Life* by Dr. R. C. Mahendra, M.A., D.LITT. ; published by Kitab Kutir, Himmatganj, Allahabad ; Rs. 4-8-0.
3. *Descriptive Catalogue of Islamic Literature* ; published by Sh. Mohd. Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.
4. *Son of Adam* by Harindranath Chattopadhyaya ; published by Padma Publications, Ltd., Sir P. M. Road, Fort, Bombay ; Rs. 2.
5. *Fondscatalogus* by E. J. Brill, Publisher, Printer, Bookseller, Leiden (Holland).
6. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Volume XXVII, 1946, published by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D., at the Bhandarkar Institute Press, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, No. 4.

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Ed., I. C.

